

School of Theology at Claremont



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PROLETARIAT AND CIVILISATION

BY

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THE JOHN CLIFFORD LECTURE FOR 1921

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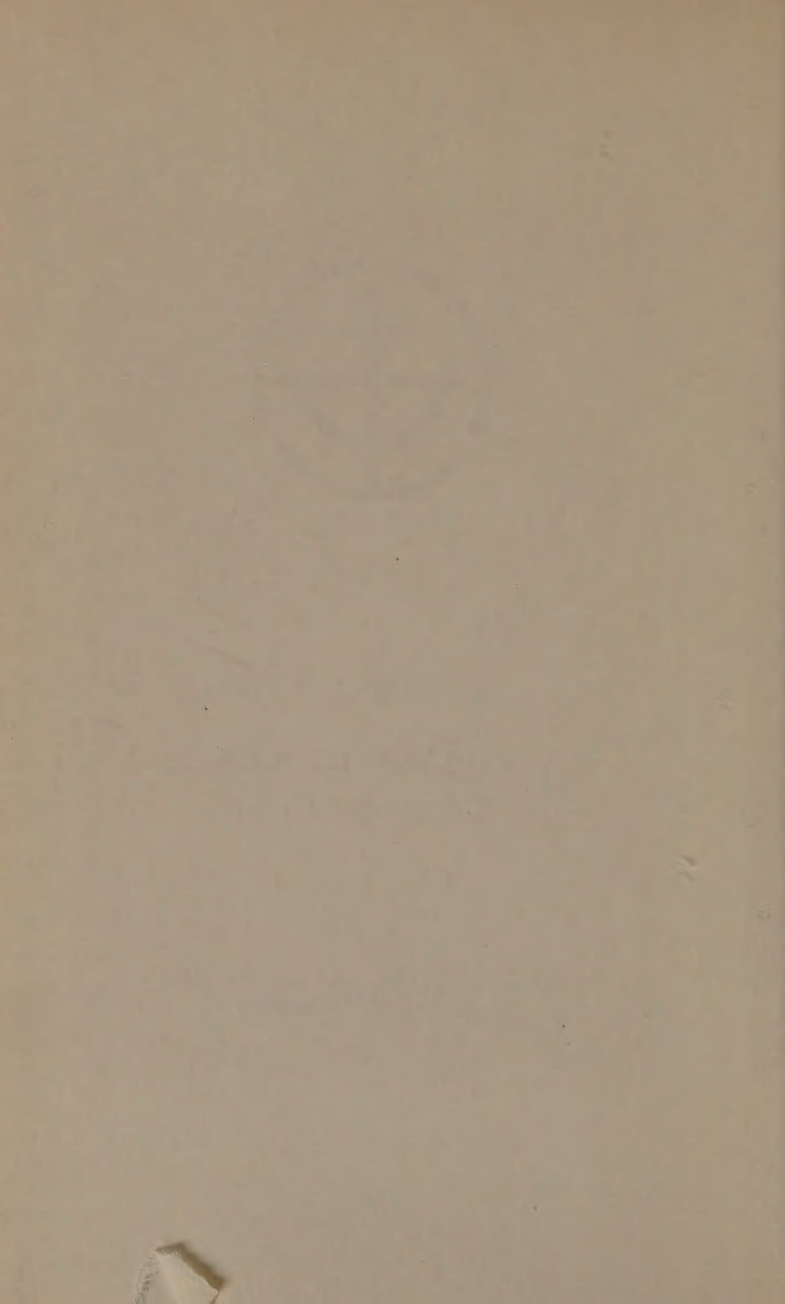
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DISCARD

Brotherhood and Civilisation

FOR REVIEW

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Brotherhood & Civilisation

By

Rolvix Harlan, M.A., Ph.D.

*Secretary Social Service and Rural Community Work of the
American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York*

The John Clifford Lecture for 1921

Delivered in Liverpool, September 19, 1921

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Dedication

TO
MY WIFE

Preface

My faith in Brotherhood as the one saving, constructive social principle, and willingness to do my bit, at the call of my brothers, to establish this principle, is my reason for accepting the invitation to deliver the second John Clifford Brotherhood Lecture. Dr. Clifford is so well known, and so highly revered among my fellow-countrymen in the United States of America, that we count it a high honour to be privileged to co-operate in any way to further the work which is so dear to his heart.

My English readers may complain that the point of view, and the illustrations, are too American. That defect grows out of the limitations of the writer, for which he is trying to make amends by an increasing interest in the life and achievements of other peoples, especially his British brethren.

Free use has been made of a number of books and pamphlets, acknowledgment being made for the most part by quotation or footnote. To the Information Service of the Research Department of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America I am greatly indebted for material in the chapter on "Brotherhood and Industry." Large use has also been made of *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction*, by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook; of *History as Past Ethics*, by P. V. N. Myers; of *Ethics*, by Dewey and Tufts, and other sources dealing with the ideals felt to be needed in modern life.

ROLVIX HARLAN.

NEW YORK,
August 3, 1921.

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THE World Brotherhood Congress was called together for the first time in London, September 1919. The second meeting was held in Washington, District of Columbia, U.S.A., in October 1920. The third meeting was recently held in Prague, August 27-31, 1921. The Brotherhood Movement is one of the historic manifestations of conscious reflective propaganda, in the interest of international good-will, understanding and co-operation. The World Brotherhood Congress is the international aspect of a movement closely allied to Christianity and the Christian Church, having a somewhat different organisation and programme of activities in the various countries represented in the Congress.

The British Brotherhoods are organised for purposes of fellowship, study, relief work, and in order to co-operate with similar groups in other countries, to give expression to the Brotherhood spirit, and to organise groups of men in nations where the Christian message and spirit have not, as yet, come in great power. In Canada and the United States, the Brotherhood Movement is more closely geared into the life and programme of the Churches. "Every Church a Brotherhood" might well be the slogan of the Movement in America. Men of the Church and community are banded together for inspirational and practical purposes, generating energies and will to help, studying methods of work, and doing such community tasks as forward-looking men may find to hand.

It is well that men who consciously profess the brotherly spirit, and a hope of the extension of this spirit to all mankind, should come together in conference. It is even better when they adopt a programme—call it missionary, if you please—the purpose of which is to propagate the idea of Brotherhood and call men to face up to its implications, in other parts of the world.

Brotherhood is more than a matter of feeling, of the sympathies. True, there is an innate capacity in mankind, found in most individuals of the human family, to feel and to express sympathy for their kind. The word “kind,” and many other words which have come into use in the evolution of human language, recognise the presence and power of this feeling. To be kind is to feel and act in brotherly fashion. To be humane is to act in accordance with the finest emotional endowment of human life. To be brotherly is to accept responsibility for those of our common human family.

Brotherhood is thus seen to be more than an aspect of the emotional life of mankind. Any attempt to explain man’s social development on the basis of the feelings merely would fall short of full explanation. The feelings in connection with organic evolution, and even in the earlier stages of human social development, were mighty factors, and are still. But, added to the feelings, there is a function of intellect and will. Brotherhood may not only flow out of sympathies and “consciousness of kind,” but may be promoted after conscious reflection, and in accordance with the judgments of a well-ordered, thoroughly informed intellect. Man’s well-being and better forms of social organisation have followed man’s intelligent reflection upon, and the giving of attention to, social structures and functions which arise genetically.

There are those who think that any expansion of the spirit and practice of co-operation beyond the borders of one's own family or tribe has come about under economic pressure, and in response to economic need. It is not necessary for us to ignore the economic factor in man's social development; but we certainly do not need to hold to economic determinism as a master principle. Only as the feelings have been allowed to expand to include those formerly not a part of a local family or tribe, and only as the intellectual and moral judgment of mankind has seen the wisdom of co-operation and mutuality, and the expansion of Brotherhood, has economic expansion been possible. It would be more nearly possible to make a case for a thesis that *Brotherhood is the master principle of human society* than that economic determinism or purely scientific development of any sort is the master principle. But, of course, we would mean by Brotherhood the noblest and most altruistic feelings that arise in individuals and groups, and which, in the case of groups and organised sections of society, are consciously promoted and extended to include others. Economic expansion is impossible; at least cannot be stabilised, save as the ethical supports are brought up to secure such expansion.

In the development of man's social life the time came when the moral leaders gave out the injunction, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." The Deuteronomic legislation enjoined this attitude toward those of one's own community, communion or race. But you cannot enjoin feeling. The use of the intellect in appraising and determining upon the wisdom of a given course leads those who are the law-givers and moralists of any people to summon the will to set the individual and the group in the way of a higher ideal. Jesus Christ expanded the conception of Brotherhood found in the Deuteronomic injunction,

“Love thy neighbour as thyself,” and in the parable of the Good Samaritan challenged His followers, or, for that matter, all right-minded men, to leap the boundaries of race and class, and to submit heart, conscience and conduct to the ideal of Brotherhood, because we are related to all mankind.

Brotherhood, as properly conceived, has to do not merely with the mitigation of the asperities of the struggle for existence, but is a primary constructive principle in all corporate life, whether voluntary association, political communities, industrial organisations, or a composite, complex civilisation.

Thus civilisation, which is man's manner of life after centuries and millenniums of development, has been built up, and is ordered in connection with the sympathies and feelings; but social control and social sanctions grow largely out of reflection. Thus, law and all other formulations of social control are built up on feelings, the intellect and the will. The greatest factor in social order and social progress is the dynamic principle of solidarity and co-operation, but conscious and sane application of the spirit of Brotherhood to the great problems of modern life is imperative.

It is with some phases of the interweaving of this spirit with our civilisation that these lectures deal. Where can one find an audience better suited to such a discussion? The Brotherhood Movement, which is a conscious effort to bring men together in understanding, and in effort for the common good, numbers in its membership and following many of the choice spirits of our day and generation, men with broad knowledge of history, and who have the perspective of past events, and are animated by the spirit of Him who stated His own mission in the most definite and simple terms: “I am among you as One that serveth”; men who are hopeful that scientific

knowledge, combined with organised good-will, can produce a better type of civilisation than any yet constructed by man's genius.

The history of mankind is a confused but inspiring spectacle. Man has been seeking to achieve humanity. Nothing was given him ready-made. He has had to contrive, invent, devise and improve. He had to learn to communicate, in itself a romantic chapter of progress. From signs to symbols; to letters; to languages; to manuscripts and books; to printing; to telegraph; telephone and wireless. The physical world has had to be conquered, the sea subdued by oar and sail and steam. It is a long, long way from cave-dweller to modern England and America; from ignorance to present-day technical science; from tribe fighting tribe to twentieth-century State with at least partial co-ordination of mighty forces and interests; from almost incessant warfare of groups to the comity of nations with the League of the World hovering as an ideal just within man's achieving grasp.

Blundering, stumbling, misreading his own powers and destiny, he has yet built up a wonderful structure called civilisation. The growth has been largely genetic, spasmodic, unplanned, accidental. We are now entering the age of conscious telic human progress. It is a great day in which to live and work, develop one's own powers and work team work, with one's brothers. Immense obligations rest on those born to such a heritage. Our generation finds the world largely cleared up, roads built, science and invention placing tools at our hand, libraries and churches giving inspiration. Sensing what is ours as inheritors and bearers of modern institutions and achievements, we feel like saying, "Hurrah for civilisation! Hurrah for mankind!" But, whether we give way to our enthusiasm or not, we must work to convert the

Strong to the ideals and tasks of Brotherhood, and inspire our weakest brothers to "stay by the stuff."

Ours is not merely the task of salvaging civilisation. It is the task of applying the principles of Brotherhood to all the relations of human life as a corrective to class conflict, racial ill-will and international strife. It is the task of demonstrating co-operation and Brotherhood as the constructive principle of a new order. Brotherhood is the secret of the eternal order which is above time, and is to be woven into the very structure of the universe.

BROTHERHOOD and civilisation is a broad and rather indefinite subject, yet certain facts and ideas cluster around these words, which need analysis and discussion in these days during which the very fabric of organised society is being put to the strain of class conflict and the strife of contending groups and factions.

Brotherhood scarcely needs defining. It is a word which describes a spirit, simple, pervading, insistent, which lies at the bottom of all common effort and collective enterprise. Brotherhood consists of mutualities, co-operation, consciously righteous relationships. *It is a master principle upon which all associated life rests, and in the application of which mankind's welfare is to be achieved.* It is God's expectation for the human race. It transcends group interest. It condemns organised exploitation. It points towards the Kingdom of God, or the fellowship of right-minded men and women in the enterprise of building the best possible society.

Civilisation is a word more difficult of definition. The Germans have two words which we translate by the word "culture," but which when taken together and understood in the proper spirit, mean about the same as our word "civilisation"—"Kultur" and "Bildung." "Kultur" refers to the objective, tangible equipments and structures of civilisation, while "Bildung" refers to the inner mental, spiritual capacities and attainments of the soul. Civilisation really begins first in the soul of man and works itself out in institutions and great material accomplishments. It

creates values and the means for their conservation. It is the total accumulation of machinery and organisation for meeting man's economic needs, and it also includes the customs, habits, institutions and traditions which secure and promote the great enterprise of living together in a measure of peace and righteousness and happiness.

A people may be said to be civilised when they have formed for themselves institutions which give men command of the resources of the earth and likewise command over the experiences of the entire race. "Civilisation is human progress integrated and intensified. Its most essential and characteristic manifestations are diffusion of culture, a high moral and intellectual level, and respect for law. Hence, civilisation is, above all, the result of the domination of man by himself; it is a work of interior culture in which three civilising forces, *par excellence*, co-operate: religion, art, science."¹

A civilisation, to be efficient and stable, must have a high degree of recognition of the worth of the individual, however teeming numerous the population, with a high degree of individual capacity and sense of responsibility developed; must have developed a high degree of health and longevity, a high plane of living and a maximum of co-operation of all the groups and factors for sufficient production of commodities and services.

The Instinct for Civilisation.

It is not customary to speak of an instinct for civilisation, as the word "instinct" ordinarily refers to some one definite, inherited, tendency of a single

¹ *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, January 1912, p. 19.

organism. Yet no other word seems sufficient to describe that inertia toward the future, that tendency in the heart of mankind which has led to the creation of the social order, and the various achievements it has made possible. An instinct is a tendency in an organism to act in a certain way under the stimulation of certain phases of its environment. It is inherited and develops under the proper stimulation. It is passed on in the germ-plasm from generation to generation. It may remain dormant, or be changed, strengthened or even destroyed by environment, so far as any expression of it in the individual organism is concerned.

The instincts of man may be classed under one of the following heads, at least they are manifested in a search for these satisfactions—instincts which are expressed and developed in the search for health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty and righteousness. They constitute the driving forces in human life.¹ *Taken together and in proper proportions of strength and driving power, these instincts make the instinct for civilisation.* For example, the acquisitive instinct, which is the instinct for wealth, is a perfectly legitimate, perhaps indispensable, mental or spiritual equipment of the individual organism, and of any group, or collective life, that may develop under the gregarious instinct—or the instinct for sociability, one of the highest forms of storing and using cosmic energy. But if the acquisitive instinct is unduly strong, and the activities growing out of it inhibit other necessary instincts, life may develop disproportionately, or even bring destruction upon itself, by failure to pursue other necessary activities than those needed in the acquiring or annexing of things to one's self. The acquisitive instinct in the boy leads to the filling of the pocket with marbles, pieces

¹ Developed by Professor Albion W. Small in his *General Sociology*.

of coloured glass, and other bric-à-brac, which, to one older, seem useless wealth or accumulations. Many bits of bric-à-brac which grown men of this age accumulate will doubtless have little value to later generations.

Man needs wealth, or the utilities which satisfy or support life ; but men pursue gain and the securing of wealth or things to the detriment of their health, to the destruction of the social feelings and the amenities of life. Modern business men often find the finer feelings and capacities for fellowship and beauty atrophying, because of absorbing interest in the acquisition of things and the creating of material wealth. Knowledge, even, indispensable as it is, is not altogether an end in itself, and the pursuit of knowledge may develop into a passion, leading one to ignore obligations of duty, of health, of beauty, of human fellowship. The instinct for sociability or Brotherhood may, in those who are immature, lead to the ignoring of the protective conventions, and thus endanger the individual, but of sane and reasoned response to this instinct there is none too much.

Civilisation is therefore the resultant of an inertia toward the future, and toward the completer satisfaction of the primal human needs. This co-operation of the instincts, this urge toward balanced satisfactions, has been insistent and driving in those races and nations of men who have achieved greatly, and who have built the best civilisations. Only those races have survived in which it is strong. Many backward nations have perished ; many civilisations have been arrested in their development ; partly through circumstances beyond the control of their native energies, partly through lack of vital energy, and because of weak instinct for civilisation, or ordered and collective search for satisfactions. For example,

the American Indian. One of the richest of the continents of the earth's surface was long roamed over by savage tribes of men, whose instinct for civilisation and capacity for utilising resources at hand never lifted them beyond the simplest form of social organisation and the most precarious provision for their returning wants. Isolated and unsocial, wild and warlike, they carried on an almost incessant strife among themselves—tribe with tribe. They lived in a fear and deficit economy. They ranged over a limited area. They knew very little. They developed few agencies of transportation and fewer implements of husbandry. They seem to have had little inventive genius to adapt themselves to an environment which must be modified by various processes to be fully utilised. Their development was arrested at the point where failure to socialise past achievements left them inexperienced to meet and master new situations. Failing to devise institutions expressing and conserving the spirit of Brotherhood and co-operation, they preyed upon one another and kept their numbers and strength decimated. Their progress, such as it was, was entirely genetic. There was no conscious, definite planning for progress. In short, scattered over a continent rich in natural resources and furnishing every material for an abundant life, they failed to learn how to live together in conquering, progressing community life.

Their nearest approach to what we call civilisation was the social organisation of the seven tribes known as the Iroquois, who lived along the Great Lakes. These tribes, when the white men came, were on the verge of what should be rightly called civilisation. They had a confederation formed for purposes of defence, and in some measure their laws and institutions were intended to promote the common good of all the associated tribes. True, many of their customs

would seem to us barbarous, but a stable and measurably satisfying manner of life was theirs.

“Any person was at liberty to organise a war-party and conduct an expedition whenever he pleased. He announced his project by giving a war-dance and inviting volunteers. This method furnished a practical test of the popularity of the undertaking. If he succeeded in forming a company, which would consist of such persons as joined him in the dance, they departed immediately while enthusiasm was at its height. When a tribe was menaced with an attack, war-parties were formed to meet it in much the same manner.”¹

They seem never to have conceived the idea of developing enthusiasm and sense of solidarity or efficient co-operation as well for anything else as for war. Modern nations may well learn a lesson from social shortcomings, as manifested in these barbarians.

It is interesting to note that these Iroquois were the tribes which allied themselves with the freer English civilisation, which was being set up in the New World, in conflict with the autocratic civilisations from the Continent of Europe, which were struggling for the mastery of the virgin North American Continent. This was doubtless a mere chance alignment, but providential, if we regard democracy and its ideals as a superior manifestation of Brotherhood in a civilisation, and the freer political life of the modern world an advance upon the autocratic order which seems to be slowly passing away.

In many parts of the world to-day belated groups and partly civilised peoples are found who manifest little or no tendency to develop institutions built on Brotherhood. The difficulties in their way, whether

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, Part II, chap. iv.

of distance or difference in colour, and other physical features, they have been unable to overcome. Prejudice, which erects barriers against intercommunication and attempts at understanding, has doomed them to perennial, if not perpetual, conflict. Brotherhood and co-operation have little chance; natural sympathies have turned into hate, and, without any unkind implication of inferiority, we term them backward peoples. Africa and the interior of Asia is peopled with them, and only on the edges of these continents where wider contacts have been inevitable, has a semblance of civilisation been developed. "But let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." *Let those civilisations which seem to have lived to the end of their capacity to develop institutions and agencies of co-operation and Brotherhood look to themselves.*

Not in vastness and variety of natural resources does the strength of a civilisation consist. The Nile Valley has seen the rise and fall of dynasties, and the collapse of the civilisations which gave us geometry and mathematics, because its sense of social justice, although developed in splendid measure, was crystallised and failed to expand to meet new situations. Nor does intense individualism and personal self-realisation, which develops philosophers and artists, as in Greece, suffice. They builded on the backs of slaves, and self-realisation was for the élite alone, and Brotherhood failed to function toward the lowly. The glory of such a civilisation departed because of failure to develop loyalty and devotion to the common weal on the part of the masses of men.

Nor does political achievement and administrative capacity, backed by force of arms, guarantee the permanence of a social order. Rome was magnificent, but it was "down Eros, up Mars," and history makes

it plain that "they which take the sword shall perish with the sword." Force and military control will never make the future sure. The spirit of Brotherhood and a sense of solidarity through all the social fabric are the bulwarks of a civilisation. There are those who fear that modern civilisations are growing old and senile ; that, having passed on to a stage of evolution far beyond that of the American Indian, for example, they nevertheless, because of economic imperialism and the rivalries of trade, will utterly destroy one another, and that some form of world co-operation will have to be slowly and painfully built up.

In the great recent test of civilisation's soundness, Britain's overseas dominions, with little or no compulsion of political authority, cast their lot in with the commonwealth of the Empire. Good-will and Brotherhood held the Empire to the co-operative task, where military authority would have failed. May we all learn the lesson that modern world civilisation cannot be built on force of arms, or even economic imperialism, but on Brotherhood. Brotherhood is the salvation of European civilisation ; Brotherhood alone can build an enduring world order.

*Colossal
Achievement.*

Civilisation is, then, a series of achievements and, viewed as a whole, is man's colossal achievement. Step by step, little by little, the vast material structures under which we live, and the great body of knowledge we have developed, has been achieved. All the accumulation of scientific knowledge, of methods for adjustment to environment, have been aided by the inventive and creative mind of man, acting as an individual, or collectively.

The discovery of fire and the invention of methods of utilising it has given us the altar, the hearth and the forge, with all that these signify. The invention of movable types and the invention of the steam-engine are two epoch-making events which take rank with the discovery and utilisation of fire. The evolution of the book, from the cairn, to oral tradition, to hieroglyphics, to picture-writing, to the manuscript book, to the printing-press, is pictured in the mural decorations of the Congressional Library at Washington. Luther accidentally finding one of Gutenberg's printed Latin Bibles in a monastic library, in 1503, said: "A mighty change then came over me." He saw the vast possibilities in the cheapening of books, and this led him to his task of translating the entire Bible into German, that the people might have it. "Printing is the greatest and latest gift by which God advanceth the Gospel. Thanks be to God that it hath come at last," said the great reformer. The development of books, newspapers, news-gathering agencies and popular publications of every sort is simply the socialisation of this great invention.

The invention of the steam-engine and its adaptation to contemporary inventions brought on the Industrial Revolution with all its multiplication of wealth and the creation of modern industrial society.

Most achievements and inventions, until the modern period, certainly those preceding the historic period, have been genetic and individual, and more or less accidental. We are now in the age of collective and telic achievement. For example, wireless telegraphy. Many men contributed their bit to this device for safety and instantaneous intercourse. It really is a social achievement, although one man gets the major credit. Marconi built on what others had done.

The telephone also was developed as a device for uniting mankind and increasing his possible contacts.

Under the old individualistic patent laws, it required a law-suit settling the question of mere priority of one formal process, that of securing a patent, to assign the credit of this achievement to Graham Bell. Without detracting from the credit due to this inventor it can truly be said : others laboured, and he entered into their labours and the credit for their labours.

Brotherhood and co-operation, sensed under the drive of the instinct for sociability in an unreflecting age, has made possible the socialisation of such accidental sporadic inventions and achievements as men have made. A complex, unbalanced, only partly scientific and satisfactory civilisation has been achieved. Conscious, definite, more adequate utilisation of the spirit and practice of Brotherhood is essential to hold what we have, to provide for the socialisation of what we will further achieve, and to make sure a future of progress.

“ All our extraordinary material development, our wonderful industrial growth, will go for nothing unless with that growth go hand in hand the moral, the spiritual growth, that will enable us to use aright the other as an instrument.” ¹

With adequate education, and schools of applied science provided by society, the latent individual genius would be developed, and then made available for the common welfare. Progressive nations to-day are consciously planning for progress, and are determining what implements of progress need to be developed, in order that civilisation may take its next steps. The school system, with its climax in the research university, is the modern way of providing for civilisation and progress. One of our greatest and most typical of American Universities,

¹ From an Address by Theodore Roosevelt.

one in which democracy in education has been the ideal, has as its motto: "Crescat scientia vita excolatur" (May knowledge increase that life may be more and more enriched"). This same University has sent out a challenge to its rich alumni to provide means to establish a Department of Research and Applied Science, and its research Medical Department will result in wonderfully promoting health and physical efficiency, and in making the life of communities sanitary and wholesome.

Much of the accumulated capital, whether in the control of individuals, in accordance with antiquated notions of private property, or socially controlled, as in recent schemes of taxation, will be made available for the safeguarding of health of communities, for fighting preventable diseases, for constructing public institutions, and to provide for progress and the socialisation of civilisation's benefits. We are entering the age of socially controlled civilisation and progress, with the great problem always with us of stimulating and evoking individual initiative and achievement, and the fostering of the co-operative spirit.

*The Price of
Civilisation.*

Civilisation has been built up at tremendous cost, and almost infinite sacrifice. Mighty difficulties have had to be overcome. Wildernesses have had to be subdued; natural forces harnessed; perils removed. Innovators, inventors, heroes and leaders, have dared dangers by sea and land, the perils of social ostracism, even martyrdom itself, to achieve benefits for their fellow-men. A driving, invincible and conquering spirit of Brotherhood has animated most of them, unconsciously at times, but rising to

sublime heights of self-conscious devotion and sacrifice, as voiced, for example, in the words of Raymond Lull—the missionary and light-bearer to the Mohammedan world, “He who loves not lives not, and he who lives for Christ can never die.” The same spirit rose to a sublime height in Livingstone, whose heart lies buried in the Dark Continent, and also in the lowly negro attendants of the daring explorer and pathfinder for civilisation, who brought back his dead body to his English friends, in spite of the enormous difficulties of that nine months’ journey, concerning which one has said: “When I stand under the arches of Westminster Abbey, at Livingstone’s tomb, I bow my head, not alone in reverence for the heroic soul whose body lies beneath, but also for the marvellous fidelity of his lowly negro attendants, who alone made it possible that his mortal remains should find there their resting-place.”

The price of the subduing of the prairie has been the patience, courage and hardihood of the pioneer. Explorers, investigators, reformers have paid the cost of our civilisation. They have been its makers. In many cases a supreme testimony to their spirit of Brotherhood might be given. “They saved others; themselves they could not save.”

The painstaking toil of an Edison has given us many of the achievements of an age of electricity. The risk which sanitary engineers and physicians have run has given us our mastery of disease and pestilence. The doctors really made possible the building of the Panama Canal. The missionary has opened up new lands. Livingstone began the conquest of the Dark Continent in the spirit of Christian Brotherhood. Service and sacrifice have been lavish. Brotherhood has asked no question of gain or self-interest. It has paid the supreme price.

When sacrifice has been voluntary, and for the

high ends of the common welfare and the blessing of others, and when it has been assured that the end has been in part at least achieved, it has been joyous and sweet. William Tyndale, who literally gave his life for the freedom of the English Bible, and has made us all his debtors, died praying: "O Lord, open the eyes of the King of England." He did not die in vain, for in less than three years, by the King's edict, an English Bible was placed in all the churches.

Tyndale joined the glorious company of the apostles and prophets, big brothers of mankind. Time fails me to speak of any considerable fraction of the men and women whose names are known to their posterity, let alone that innumerable host of unnamed benefactors of us all, who "subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained concessions, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens, . . . were tortured, not accepting deliverance, . . . had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment, . . . of whom the social order of their time was not worthy." ¹

These are the spiritually élite whose service to mankind was epitomised by the ancient prophet Isaiah in his picture of Jehovah's Servant, "Who hath borne our griefs, and carried our miseries . . . who was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities . . . with whose stripes we are healed." Of this suffering Servant it could also be said, "He shall see His seed [reproduce His breed], He shall prolong His days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hand. He shall see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied." ²

"Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about

¹ Heb. xi. 32-8.

² Isa. liii. 4, 5, 10, 11.

with so great a cloud of martyrs, let us . . . run with endurance the race that is set before us.”¹

*Guardians of
Civilisation.*

Plato, in his *Republic*, classes the judges, soldiers, teachers and moralists as the guardians of civilisation, since they have the oversight, and guard our cherished heritage. Plato also calls attention to the fact that these guardians have never been allowed to participate largely in the gains, material wealth and comforts of the common life. They pay the price in small income, and often in impoverished life so far as material wealth is concerned, to safeguard the treasure committed to their care.

The judges, when actuated by the true spirit of Brotherhood, have justice between man and man, group and group, or group and individual, as the aim of their effort. They are the terrors of those who would destroy our wondrous heritage, and disrupt the harmony of the order which has made this heritage possible. No function and no class in civilisation need more fully and fearlessly to hold the scales of even justice and essential Brotherhood than those who have been appointed to guard our liberties and our rights with the social sanction of our entire civilisation. A class-controlled, or even a class-minded judge, is a violation of essential justice and Brotherhood. Having been commissioned to guard, he is likely to shatter and destroy the finest values of our common life.

While we deplore the fact of aggressive wars of conquest, the soldier who has stood for the defence of his country, and the common rights of his people, has rendered noble service to make secure what has

¹ Heb. xii. 1.

been achieved. In the Great War—which was a war to maintain and perpetuate a free and just civilisation—the best that man has been able to achieve thus far—they who gave themselves in the struggle to make the world “safe for democracy” will be honoured as brothers beloved.

“ I saw the towers of Oxford, as I was passing by,
The tall grey spires of Oxford, against a pearl-grey sky;
But my heart was with the Oxford men, who went away to die.

“ Oh, the years go fast at Oxford, the happy years and gay,
The hoary colleges look down on careless youths at play.
But when the bugle sounded war, they threw their games away.”

Even the humble policeman, exposed to all the rigours of changing weather and climate, and exposed to the malice and evil intent of those who would destroy, stands guard over the life, liberty and well-being of his fellows. It was a real revelation to the writer when he learned, as a child on the playground, that the policeman, whom he had been taught to fear, was a friend of the freedom of children, and the defender of the just right and dues of every individual and group mingling and mixing with their fellows.

And what shall we say of the teachers, and the moralists or preachers? Seldom appreciated for their true worth, often maligned for their efforts to enlighten and reform, they have been the patient bearers of civilisation's ideas and inspirations. They have presided over the process by which our social heritage, scientific, literary, institutional and spiritual, has been conserved and handed on generation after generation. In some far-distant æon these servants of civilisation will be appreciated for the contribution they have made in the spirit of Brotherhood and service for the common good. “ They have their reward.”

And thus we see that civilisation is a resultant of the weaving together of all the varied but co-operating instincts. To create, to achieve, to acquire, and to share in the spirit of Brotherhood, these are the powers which have made civilisation. Humanity has thus been characterised by the effort to realise its resident endowment in personal attainment, social achievement, co-operation and Brotherhood.

*The Perspective
of Civilisation.*

The length of time that mankind has inhabited the earth, of course, can never be accurately known. The oldest human remains are thought to go back between 200,000 and 500,000 years. Man's habitation is very much older, and was being developed for him long before his appearance.

The most familiar designations of the stages of man's progress are usually given as follows: (1) the rough stone, or palæolithic age or stage; (2) the smooth stone stage; (3) the bronze stage; (4) the iron stage; (5) the power machinery stage.

Different races and peoples have come to later stages, as thus described, without passing through previous stages, and if the physical development of a race is complete, social opportunity and contact with advanced peoples could lift a people from the savagery of the neolithic stage to the last stage of development in a brief time.

The oldest existing civilisations are very recent comparatively.

"A few hundred years ago the parents of the English-speaking nations were as savage as the savagest, without temples to their gods, in perpetual

and bloody war, untamed cannibals; add a few thousand years to the perspective, and man over the whole globe was in the same condition.”¹

Many classifications of mankind's stages and grades of development have been prepared. We reproduce here one of the most interesting and suggestive, which is by Sutherland, and is presented with some changes by E. C. Hayes, in his *Introduction to Sociology*:

“I. SAVAGES.—Deriving their food from wild products of nature; therefore always thinly scattered and in small societies; their lives engrossed in the constant struggle for sustenance.

“1. *Lower Savages*.—Dwarfs in stature; pot-bellied and spindle-legged; woolly-headed and flat-nosed; wandering in families of ten to forty; without dwellings, and with only a trace of clothing; with the smallest cranial capacities of all mankind.² Including: Bushmen (South Africa), Akka (Guinea Forests), Negritos (Philippines, etc.), Andaman Islanders, Semangs (Malay Peninsula), Veddahs (Ceylon), Kimos (Madagascar). Scanty aboriginal remnants of this dwarf negroid description are found on the west frontiers of China,³ in Formosa and Hainan; in the innermost forest ranges of Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, Flores and Ceram.

“2. *Middle Savages*.—Range up to average human height; of finer physical aspect; dwellings only screens against the wind; use of clothing known, but nudity common in both sexes; canoes are rudely fashioned; weapons well made of wood and stone;

¹ D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive People*, quoted by E. C. Hayes in *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 464.

² For a tabulated description of the stage of development reached by many different peoples see Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, seven vols.

³ Lockhart, *Ethno. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 178.

wander in tribes of 50 to 200 ; without ranks or social organisations, but tribal usages have the force of law. Including : Tasmanians, Australians, Ainus of Japan, Hottentots, Fuegians, Macas and other forest tribes of Brazil and Guiana.

“ 3. *Higher Savages*.—Dwellings are always made, though in general only tents of skin ; clothing is always possessed, though nudity common enough in both sexes ; notably better weapons of stone, bone or copper ; wander in tribes of 100 to 500 ; incipient signs of rank, chiefs have an ill-defined authority, but tribal usage relied on to maintain orderliness of life. Including : most of the North American Indians, such as Esquimaux, Koniagas, Aleuts, Tinnehs, Nootkas, Chinooks, Decotas, Mandans, Comanches, Chippeways, Haidahs, Shoshones, Californian tribes. South American natives : Patagonians, Abipones, Uaupes, Araucanians, Mundurucus, Arawaks, and other coastal or river tribes of Guiana and Brazil. African races : Damaras. Asiatic races : Nicobar Islanders, Kamtschadales, Samoyedes, aboriginals of India : Todas, Kurumbas, Nagas, Dhimals, Kukis, Santals, Billahs, Karens, Mishmis, Juangs.

“ II. *BARBARIANS*.—Obtain the larger part of their food by forethought in directing productive forces of nature ; hence agriculture and breeding of animals are notable features, but each family secures its own necessities, there being little division of occupation ; yet, food being more abundant and more evenly divided through the year, arts and sciences become incipient.

“ 1. *Lower Barbarians*.—Dwellings generally fixed, forming villages ; clothing regularly worn, except in hot climates ; nudity of women rare ; earthenware manufactures ; good canoes built ; characteristic implements of stone, wood or bone ; cultivation of small plots around dwellings ; trade incipient ;

ranks determinate but founded on individual prowess in war; government by chiefs with traditionary laws; living in tribes of 1,000 to 5,000, but capable of forming large confederacies. Including: In America: Iroquois, Thlinkeets, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, Mosquitos. Some in Australasia: Maoris of New Zealand, Biaras of New Britain, Tombaras of New Ireland, Obaos of New Caledonia, natives of New Hebrides, natives of Solomon Islands, natives of New Guinea. In Africa: Kaffirs, Bechuanas, Basutos, Wakamba Negroes. In Asia: Dyaks of Borneo, etc., Jakums of Malay Peninsula, Battaks of Sumatra, Tunguz, Yakuts, Kurghiz, Ostiaks; Indian aborigines: Hos, Mundas, Oranos, Paharias, Gonds, Khonds, Bheels.

“2. *Middle Barbarians*.—Good permanent dwellings generally of wood or thatch; formed into towns of considerable size; always able to make clothing of moderate comeliness, but nudity not considered indecent; pottery, weaving, metal working carried on to some extent; commerce in its early stage; money used, regular markets held; consolidated into states running up to 100,000 persons under petty kings; traditionary codes of laws administered; ranks well defined, arising partly from individual, partly from family prowess in war. Including: In Africa: Negro races—Dahomeys, Ashantees, Fantees, Foolahs, Shillooks, Baris, Latookas, Wanyamo, Waganda, Wanyoro, Wanyamwezi, Bongos, Niamniams, Dinkas, Yorubas, Monbuttus, Balondas, Ovampos, Foorians. In Polynesia: Figians, Tongans, Samoans, Marquesas Islanders. In Europe: Lapps of two centuries ago. In Asia; Kalmucks. Historically: Greeks of Homeric ages; Romans anterior to Numa; German races of Cæsar’s time, etc.

“3. *Higher Barbarians*.—Able to build with stones; clothing necessary in ordinary life; weaving a con-

stant occupation of women ; iron implements generally made ; metal working greatly advanced ; money coined ; small ships made, but propelled with oars ; law rudely administered in recognised courts ; people welded into masses up to 500,000 under rule of a sovereign ; writing in incipient stage ; ranks hereditary ; division of occupations advancing. Including : In Africa : Abyssinians, Zanzibar races, Somali, Malagasies. In Asia : Malays of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Borneo, Malay Peninsula, Sooloo Archipelago, etc ; nomad Tartars, nomad Arabs, Baluchs, etc. In Polynesia : Tahitians, Hawaiians. Historically : Greeks of time of Solon ; Romans of early Republic ; Anglo-Saxons of the Heptarchy ; Mexicans at time of Spanish Conquest ; Peruvians at time of Spanish Conquest ; Jews under the Judges.

“ III. CIVILISED.—Food and necessities obtained with increased facility by the co-operation that arises from intricate subdivision of occupations. This leads to great efficiency through specialisation, and in consequence the social organism becomes extremely varied in function, but consolidated by interdependence. Steady growth of arts and sciences.

“ 1. *Lower Civilised*.—Cities formed and surrounded by stone walls ; important buildings elaborately designed in stone ; the plough used ; war tends to become the business of a class ; writing established ; laws rudely written ; formal courts of justice established ; literature begins. Including : In Africa : Algerines, Tunisians, Moors, Kabyles, Touaregs, etc. In Asia : Turcomans, Thibetans, Bhutans, Nepalese, Laos, Cochinese, Anamese, Cambodians, Coreans, Manchoorians, settled Arabs. Historically : Jews of time of Solomon ; Assyrians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Babylonians, Carthaginians ; Greeks after Marathon ; Romans in time of Hannibal ; English under Norman kings.

“2. *Middle Civilised*.—Temples and rich men’s houses handsomely built in stone or brick; glass windows come into use; trades greatly multiply; ships propelled by sails; writing grows common, and manuscript books are spread abroad; the literary education of the young attended to; war becomes an entirely distinct profession; laws are framed into statutes, and the class of lawyers arises. Including: In Asia: Persians, Siamese, Burmese, Afghans. In Europe: Finns, Magyars of last century; Greeks of Pericles’ time; Romans of later Republic; Jews of the Macedonian Conquest; England under Plantagenets; France under early Capets.

“3. *Higher Civilised*.—Stone dwellings common; roads paved; canals, water-mills, windmills, etc.; navigation becomes scientific; chimneys used; writing a common acquirement; manuscript books largely used; literature in high repute; strong central government extending over tens of millions; fixed codes of law reduced to writing and officially published; courts elaborate; government officers numerous and carefully graded. Including: Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, Turks; Romans under the Empire; Italians, French, English, Germans of the fifteenth century.

“IV. CULTURED.—1. *Lower*: (a) Problem of *production* measurably solved. (b) Extensive substitution of natural forces for human muscle, and increasing efficiency of organisation secures to the masses *leisure* to cultivate mental and esthetic faculties; universal education the only tolerated standard. (c) Warlike prowess and birth steadily losing pre-eminence as standards of personal excellence, and even in countries inheriting a military aristocracy, high if not equal social rank and reputation can be had on the ground of wealth and of achievement in science, art, litera-

ture, politics, etc. (d) General education and the Press render possible the prompt formation and effective expression of intelligent public opinion by great populations, resulting in democracy; laws are made by the representatives of the people. (e) National efforts begin to be directed to other than military and economic ends, particularly the promotion and general propagation of sciences and arts.

“This stage has been reached by the most advanced nations of the present.

“2. *Middle*.—(a) Problem of *distribution* measurably solved; all normal persons well fed, clothed and housed. (b) Liberal education practically universal. (c) War universally disapproved (as brawls between individuals now are), though of occasional occurrence. Limited armies and navies of all nations co-operate as a world police. (d) Mere wealth no longer regarded as success, but economic achievement in the form of invention or highly efficient organisation and management is ranked with political and other achievement, business success being measured by productivity of goods or services rather than by profits retained by the manager. (e) So much may be ventured as inferences based upon existing tendencies, but to complete the description would be to venture too far into the field of prophecy. Centuries may intervene before this stage is fully reached.

“3. *Higher*.—No prophecy is ventured: a thousand or two thousand years may pass before the aggregation of progress justifies an additional classification of the leading nations. It may be that the conquest of diseases and physical defects will have progressed so far through the advancement and popularisation of science and the organisation of public preventive activities that the lack of health will be the rare exception. And it may well be that all great advances will have become known to practically all the world,

though differences of geographic environment will invite different adaptations of life. And the diversification of life may have become a world-cult, so that different populations will be consciously developing characteristic arts and activities by a world-wide division of labour in the practice of culture life."

Practically every student of human life and institutions believes in the possibility of human progress. We are justified in holding the faith that a fuller application and widespread adoption of the principles and practice of Brotherhood will hasten progress, and will build a better civilisation than any mankind has heretofore achieved. "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help."

III

Social Values defined in Past Civilisations—the Foundations of Brotherhood

OUR composite civilisation is not the achievement of any one age, race or nation. We speak of civilised peoples and of backward races, and, in our national pride and arrogance, often think that we alone have a way of life worth while. It has been too easy a classification to think of all others, outside the pale of our own race or nation, as barbarians and outlanders. Broadening knowledge and appreciation are leading us to see the value of the contribution other races, ages and nations have made to the sum of human welfare, and to the ideas and ideals upon which an enduring social order is to be founded.

In the interior of the dome of the Congressional Library at Washington, District of Columbia, the artist has sought to represent in a series of broad generalisations the peculiar and important contribution of succeeding races and peoples. Egypt has contributed written records—the result of man's instinct to hand on knowledge; Greece has contributed philosophy—the result of man's instinct to explain; Rome has contributed administration—the result of man's instinct for order; Islam has contributed physics—the result of man's instinct to master the physical world of matter and force; England has contributed colonisation—the result of man's instinct to explore and develop; Italy has contributed fine arts—the result of man's instinct for beauty; Germany has contributed the technical

sciences—the result of man's instinct to make; France has contributed emancipation—the result of man's instinct for freedom. We would like to add the hope that America will make the contribution of social science, and bring to conscious, definite expression man's instinct to co-operate. Perhaps the age and civilisation of co-operation and Brotherhood, through mastery of the social sciences, will be the achievement of all the social engineers of all the peoples of the earth. Not only the Utopian dreamers but many scientists are now working to build up a real Kingdom of God.

But greater than material and even intellectual achievements are those moral and spiritual values which are the foundation of all permanent achievement and socialisation. We find the matrix of our modern idealism in the stream of moral ideals that are flowing together from all past ages. Brotherhood, for example, is no new thing under the sun, although it may have necessary and new applications not known to former ages. We should study morals and religions historically and comparatively—that is, we should know the continuity of the stream of spiritual endeavour and the solidarity of all efforts to build Brotherhood. One of the most persistent traditions of mankind has been the endeavour to find and follow the moral ideal.

*Contribution of
Primitive Peoples.*

Many ethnologists and sociologists have taken in hand to discover and expound the spiritual contribution of primitive peoples, and of the successive historic civilisations. It is a fascinating field of interest, and discloses the potency and the possibilities in the principle of Brotherhood and human

solidarity, as those conceptions and ideals have been progressively realised and extended from clan to tribe, from tribe to community, from community to an ever-increasing area of national unity, with the hovering dream of world co-operation to beckon and lure, to assure and hearten.

Brotherhood was manifested in the earliest groups as the cementing, unifying influence. This ethical motive presents itself as the most constant and regulative force in the evolution of humanity, for the largest unifications of civilisation now in existence are extensions of this kinship consciousness. The spiritual enrichment of the life of mankind has come from this motive. From the very first, all leaders and spiritual guides have pleaded for equity and justice, for solidarity and Brotherhood.

The bond of blood would not be a sufficient bond, if it were merely biological. But, reinforced by the faith in a common ancestry, this physical relationship, real or assumed, bound the primitive group closely together and gave a feeling of corporate and collective consciousness. W. Robertson Smith says: "The members of one kindred looked on themselves as one living whole, a single animated mass of blood, flesh and bones, of which no member could be touched without all the members suffering. If one of the clan has been murdered, they say, 'Our blood has been shed.' " The altruistic sentiments and the feeling of obligation for the common welfare grew out of this early "consciousness of kind." One of the foremost of American sociologists¹ has built his system of thought with the idea of the "consciousness of kind" as his master principle. He calls it the "original and elementary subjective fact in society, a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognises another conscious

¹ Franklin H. Giddings, in *The Principles of Sociology*.

being as of like kind with itself." And what is this but Brotherhood? "Such a consciousness," says the writer, "may be an effect of impression and meditation, but it is not the only effect that they produce. It may cause contract and alliance, but it causes other things as well. It acts on conduct in many ways, and all the conduct that we can properly call social is determined by it. It is co-extensive with potential society, but nothing less." "In a word, to trace the operation of the consciousness of kind through all its social manifestations is to work out a complete, subjective interpretation of society." This is the same as to say that "blood is thicker than water"; but the obligations and loyalties developed in the blood bond of Brotherhood are expanded further to cover all recognised and accepted fellowships.

The loyalty and devotion of the individual to the group, or groups, that shelter its life is the stuff of which all patriotisms and humanities are built. The high school principal or teacher who urges and seeks to compel a student to inform on or betray his fellow-students is fighting against this principle of spiritual solidarity, this potential Brotherhood. It is around this fine feeling of loyalty that supervised boys' groups and clubs can be formed, with such wonderful educational value for subsequent social life. When these primitive loyalties shall have been lifted out and developed by wider intercourse, information and mature experience, they will ripen into cosmopolitanism and world citizenship. This sense of oneness with others lies at the basis of all proprieties and sense of personal possessions, of inclination toward co-operation, of cultural associations. It is the origin of all true association and of all definitely adopted constitutions of mankind. He who has accepted the shelter, the benefits and blessings of

life in fellowship with his kind comes under the collectively imposed obligations of Brotherhood. The vice and sin most disapproved by the primitive peoples is disloyalty, and unbrotherly conduct to any member of the kinship group. Collective responsibility for the individual, and an effort to make the welfare of each the concern of all, has always characterised primitive society. The primitive man scarcely needed to ask the question, "Who is my neighbour?" He had that knowledge from the very situation in which he found himself. That question, "Who is my neighbour?" grows out of the extension and expansion of kinship morality into hospitality, concern for and effort in behalf of those who were coming to be recognised as brothers also in a more numerous clan or tribe or association of groups.

War, which has been characterised as a phase of the struggle for existence, can be understood, and possibly condoned, as a manifestation of man's vitality in a deficit economy, and an age of scarcity of food and other satisfactions. It became early in the human stage of evolution a frequent practice as group clashed with group, but it has always been a detriment to the moral progress of the race. War is now the one outstanding institutional remainder from primitive times and conditions, and from a deficit economic order utterly incompatible with the more intelligent and definitely recognised consciousness of kind, seeking expansion into a Federation of the World. The primitive virtue of class loyalty has great value even to-day, but its value is lost, and it can become a disturber of a better Brotherhood when it rises into class conflict propaganda, and is an incentive to hatred of other classes or groups. It has social value as it develops group co-operation and efficiency in order that the group may make its largest contribution of service to the entire community.

*Egyptian, Babylonian and
Assyrian Civilisation.*

Exploitation is the antithesis of Brotherhood. From of old man has sought to exploit and develop nature, but he has also exploited and devoured his fellow-man. History is really the story of the elimination of exploitation and the extension of Brotherhood. In primitive times cannibalism, as practised in relation to strangers, or aliens—those of another group—was quite prevalent. The cannibalistic man or group ate the captive taken in war with a neighbouring group. This form of exploitation gave way to slavery. It was found to be more profitable, as well as felt to be more humane, to keep alive the captive and compel him to labour under the task-master's lash. The product of the toil of the slave was of course considered to be the possession of the master. The process of moralising humanity has required the teaching, the defining, the sanctioning and enforcing by laws and regulations, of approved conduct. Newer laws and customs have had to be devised dealing with the growing complexity of human life and relationships. The earliest civilisations, as we know them, were throughout most of the historic period of their existence comparatively static. That is, our picture of them is a sort of cross-section, and, while there is change and possibly some progress in the profile of certain of the civilisations we have under survey in the historic period, for the most part, change, amendment and progress are resisted, and decay sets in. We have some remarkable instances of the old age, senility and death of civilisations caused by lack of adaptation and failure to attain adequacy. Social adequacy would require the constant and progressive readiness to modify social structures and habits to meet new

situations and conditions. We find such civilisations, as revealed by inscription, monument, or other chance record or remainder, developed to their highest point. Class and status were fixed and unchanging.

Ancient civilisation in the Valley of the Nile, and in the Mesopotamian region, had a fairly highly developed social conscience. Not only had they developed certain moral ideals, but they had developed a religion to enforce these ideals. Here we find, for the first time, the idea of Brotherhood or Social Justice enforced by the *Book of the Dead*, or by some form of ethical test at the close of life. Here are the first intimations that there is something more than a blood tie that binds, and which makes us our brother's keeper. It is a conception of the cosmic consequences of a failure to do justly and to love mercy.

The physical and moral amelioration, and the intellectual and spiritual improvement of others, have the sanction of divine approval. The conception that the social order is to be improved by enlightening men's minds, warming their hearts with the love of the good, inspiring them with the practice of fraternity, has not yet developed. But control of the passions, abhorrence of vice and opposition to injustice were taught. Brotherhood in these earlier times is largely negative, although it might be a misreading and thus an injustice to these ancient peoples to say that their morality was largely negative. Despotism and superstition, twin powers of evil and darkness, were there, and they who were the bearers of the spirit and will of Brotherhood were compelled to invent the mysteries, to use allegory, symbol and emblem to avoid persecution. Perhaps the practice of secret fraternalism as a mode of the manifestation of Brotherhood had its beginnings in these ancient civilisations. Certain it is that ancient emblem and symbol, and in part ancient ceremonies, are still used

in modern civilised countries, by groups of men promoting Brotherhood, when there is no longer necessity of secrecy, and when it would be possible to write the highest moral principles in letters of living light.

The Code of Hammurabi has very little in it that the modern Brotherhood Movement would seek to propagate, except that it sought to define the property rights and legal duties of the individual in relation to others. It does not seek to alter status, to exalt the personality of one's fellow-men and to act as brother to all mankind. But it does present the crystallisation of a great movement making for social justice, and of wider ethical applications, consolidating and solidifying results at that time already achieved. An interesting field of study is that which traces the influence of Egyptian ideas and the moral and legal codes of Babylonia upon the life and history of Israel.

*The Prophets of
ancient Israel.*

The civilisation which has sent a stream of influence into modern times, a knowledge of whose literature has been revived since the Reformation, is ancient Israel. Recent generations have rediscovered the prophets as the most significant part of that civilisation and literature. The priests and sages were disciplinarians, and masters in the ritual and in the etiquette of their day. The prophets were seers (*Hose*), and read the inner meaning of spiritual reality, and voiced the divine requirements of righteousness. Whether a city dweller, as was Isaiah of Jerusalem, or simple countrymen, as were Hosea, Amos and Micah, they inveighed against injustice, and were the proponents of mercy and

brotherliness. "What does the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God," is the epitome of prophetic teaching and comes from the rural-minded Micah.¹ "Let justice run down as waters, and righteousness as a perennial stream"² is the challenge of Amos in the midst of a civilisation which was developing large land-holding fortunes, and cruel landlords who ground the faces of the poor. "Cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow," is the exhortation or injunction of Isaiah, the prince of Jerusalem, in his great arraignment of those classes and persons who were oppressing their brothers, and their brothers' children.³

These prophets interpreted in ethical terms the phenomena of nature and the drama of human life and history. They spoke for and in behalf of the alone and righteous God, whose revealed will is man's supreme authority; and God is the God of a world of brothers. In all Israel's history, that which ought to be slowly emerges out of that which is. It may be thought of in certain circles as the morality of a simple, unsophisticated, provincial folk. It did most certainly have a distinct national bias, for Jehovah was presented as a jealous, national God, and the growth of feelings which might have formed the basis of a true international morality were thus partly suppressed. But it was an intensive, honest and upright presentation of the obligations of goodwill, Brotherhood, mutuality, mercy and love, in the name of One who was manifested as the Champion of all who are oppressed. No domestic policy within any nation to-day dare fall below the exalted social morality of the prophets of Israel. God will not stand for it, and the nation will not prosper under it.

¹ Micah vi. 8.² Amos, v. 24.³ Isa. i. 16, 17.

Professor Philip V. N. Myers ¹ says that the morality of Amos and Hosea enfolded the germ of cosmopolitanism. The conviction that the government of Jehovah is founded on absolute justice and right led to the conviction of its ultimate universality, "for right is everywhere right, and wrong is everywhere wrong." The international politics of that day led these prophets to feel sure that Jehovah would establish a world-wide kingdom, and that all nations should acknowledge His righteous rule. Isaiah and Micah proclaimed the universal reach of this law of right and justice, and held aloft an ethical ideal of the Brotherhood of nations and universal peace. They foretold, as seers, all the wonders and the sovereignty of the moral law, the coming of a time in the last days when all the nations of the earth should form a federation under the suzerainty of Israel, with Jerusalem as the world capital. "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."² Here we have in Hebrew literature a distinct expression—the first to be found in the literature of any race—of the idea of the Brotherhood of man, and a federated world. We have never been able to escape the moral grip of that conception. "Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not be behind time."³

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 "Come it fast, or come it slow,
 'Twill come at last, I surely know;
 Heaven and earth will feel the glow,
 And men will call it love."
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¹ *History as Past Ethics*, P. V. N. Myers.

² Isa. ii. 3, 4.

³ Hab. ii. 3.

There are sections of the Old Testament where the intensive nationalistic spirit, sternly intolerant, is modified by a more tender spirit of sympathy for the unfortunate, the poor and the oppressed. This seems to have been characteristic of all ancient civilisations, especially in their religious aspect. When there has been an institution or some form of organised religion within the civilisation it has combined harsh and even fanatical intolerance toward the unbeliever, with sympathy and helpfulness for the poor and afflicted of the faith, who were within the organisation, or at least who were not found fighting against it. Not only the way of the transgressor, but the way of the heretic and the rebel has been hard. It was so in ancient Israel.

It would be an interesting matter to trace the humanitarian advances as exhibited in the various prophetic codes encased in Deuteronomy, which deal with the poor, the debtor, the bondsman. Socially approved conduct seems at times to consist almost entirely in consideration for the poor. His necessities were to be provided for, and a minimum of equipment required for the earning of his livelihood secured to him against any confiscation. "Remove not the ancient landmarks, nor enter into the field of the fatherless," is no injunction against theological change; it is a divine warning against sharp land dealing with the widow and the fatherless. The widow's raiment, the grinding mill-stone, any other necessary implements of industry or personal apparel, were to be exempt from mortgage or confiscation. The wages of the poor must be promptly paid. Opportunity to glean must be provided; indeed, when harvesting, it was frequently enjoined that some handfuls were to be left on purpose for the fatherless and for the widow. Thus, a sense of social solidarity and of social responsibility was created in

and through the teachings of the prophets. Brotherhood, at least within the nation and toward those of the same faith, was enjoined and established, and the germ of universal Brotherhood planted in the thought of mankind.

*Greek Social
Idealism.*

The Greek, among other things, has bequeathed to us the conception of what constitutes the good life. While ostensibly the ethical heritage from Judea has shaped the idealism of Western civilisation, the Greek contribution to the life of the modern world is such that it can truthfully be said, "the conscience of the modern world of science is Hellenic rather than Hebraic."¹

The ancient Greek lived his life as a citizen of a small political community, or City-State, and the relationships involved in citizenship in such a State have furnished the same sort of historical situation out of which the ideals for modern community relationships have been moulded. For the same reason Greek civilisation never developed a strong church, and little or no ecclesiastical conscience. With freedom to live according to nature, and few if any rules and regulations to hamper or to guide free self-expression, Greek civilisation developed the ideal of self-realisation for the individual within a social order flexible and undefined. Whatever the individual had to contribute to the general good as a result of the development of his own resident endowment, and nature's equipment, was contributed in an atmosphere of relative freedom. This explains the fact that Greek civilisation was the least static of any of the great historic civilisations; never as stable at any

¹ *History as Past Ethics*, P. V. N. Myers.

one time as, for example, was the static crystallised civilisation of China, which for two millenniums knew no change. Greek civilisation was unsteady, and in constant danger of swinging to extremes. It is not an accident, therefore, that a millennium of oriental civilisation did not bring to the surface as many outstanding creative personalities as a single generation of Greek life and society—the age of Pericles.

This indicates what might be possible in some future civilisation which has developed institutions, at once guaranteeing stability and continuity, and providing at the same time for the release and developing of the latent possibilities in the potentially creative individual. But the proper balance between stability in a social order and progress through new ideas and social invention has been most difficult. The Greek ideal of self-realisation with the corresponding responsibility which the community imposed through its social conscience, to develop and realise one's native endowment, did not reach very far. Freedom and citizenship, with its opportunity, was the lot of only a class. The aspect of democracy developed in this civilisation consisted in the right and opportunity of a restricted group to make their contribution. This group in Greek life was carried on the backs of numerous slaves, to whom little or no opportunity was given. When this ideal came into conflict with Christianity, with its Gospel of hope for the proletariat and the slave, it is manifest that it met the challenge, either that it be expanded to include all, from the highest to the very lowest, in order to be the ideal of a world in which Christianity is a vital element, or give way entirely as inadequate to meet the new age. Perhaps the most significant spiritual struggle since the Reformation has been to make the Greek ideal of self-realisation universal in its application to mankind, under the driving power

of Christianity's faith in the common man—in every man. It contained the germ of modern individualism, and it will be the death of every form of paternalism.

It is singular that every great race of people who have made their contribution to the sum-total of human knowledge, and of civilisation's complete and inclusive equipment, have considered themselves at some time an elect race, a chosen people. The Jews believed themselves to be God's chosen people, and the Greeks believed themselves to be the élite of the earth. True, in the conception of the towering personalities of these two civilisations, there occasionally appeared the idea of election for service—of being chosen and endowed to bring blessing and inspiration to less favoured peoples. But in the main, the teaching, certainly the practice and practical attitude of all distinctive civilisations to the present time, has been more or less exclusive, considering itself divinely chosen and therefore superior. All the ugly implications of this conception of superiority which regarded those outside the pale as inferior and unworthy, to be exploited, perhaps to be destroyed, has been the negation of that ideal spirit of Brotherhood which has been struggling for expression.

It was hard for Jonah, the prophet, to even get the conception, let alone to take the practical attitude implied, that Jehovah was the God of the people of Nineveh, and, as the Ruler of all the earth, His benefits and blessings were to be bestowed and carried out to the heretofore unblest of earth. "Blest, in order to be a blessing," which is of the essence of constructive Brotherhood, has been a lesson hard to teach and hard to learn. Not only have the ethnic religions, with their narrowing nationalistic, un-brotherly spirit been invoked, in favour of "God's people" as against "the heathen," but racial pride

and bigotry, as among the Greeks, has been the support of too ready classification of all the world into cultured and barbarian. And yet the Greek ideal, with all its historic limitations, and in spite of all the racial narrowness that would confine it in its application to a small portion of its own population, has gone into the making of the composite ideal, or that group of ideals which is to build the kingdom of God, where there is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, Greek nor barbarian, but a kingdom of personalities developed, each at his best, and co-operating in a commonwealth or Brotherhood of humanity. God can make even the narrowness of men to praise Him, and the rest of it He broadens out in vision and sympathy.

Within the limitations of what has been presented in the foregoing paragraphs the Greek moral evolution lifted out the four cardinal virtues—temperance, fortitude, justice and conscientiousness. These virtues, so far as they were developed in Greek thinking, were almost purely individualistic, but of course no individual virtue can be thought of apart from its social implications. A virtue has been defined either as “*the settled, intelligent identification of an agent's capacity with some aspect of the reasonable or common happiness ; or, as a social custom or tendency organised into personal habit of valuation.*” From the latter standpoint truthfulness is the social institution of language maintained at its best pitch of efficiency through the habitual purposes of individuals. From the former, it is an instinctive capacity and tendency to communicate emotions and ideas directed so as to maintain social peace and prosperity.” Thus, all personal virtue has social implications and social value.

This is perhaps not the place to define and expound these cardinal virtues as developed in Greek thought.

They are only mentioned as indicating that, on the side of moral philosophy growing out of the contemplation of human conduct, Greek civilisation has given us the best forms for our thinking yet devised. Anything like an exhaustive historical study of the effort to formulate the conception of human rights and duties, and a reasonable programme for the practice of virtue would disclose the difficulties in the way of thoroughly understanding and applying the principle of Brotherhood in the intricacies of modern civilisation. But the difficulties of understanding the place and the application of Brotherhood in our modern civilisation does not absolve us from the task. Modern moral teachers are constantly facing the problem of reinterpreting moral ideals in the living situations and conditions with which they are involved. Only in this way are these ideals and their significance really understood.

*Roman
Civilisation.*

Roman morals, both in the matter of their practice and such reflective formulations as we have, were developed in the environment of family life, and in connection with one's duty to the State.¹ Domestic and political institutions stand side by side as creator and moulder of the type of people approved in this civilisation. The sturdy moral qualities of the peasant farmer and home builder, with the heroic virtues of the warrior or defender of the State, were blended in producing the approved person of the ancient Roman world. Of course, since ethics or a study of conduct is interested in the process of the creation of values, and religion, or the relationship of

¹ Discussion in this chapter suggested by *History as Past Ethics*, P. V. N. Myers,

the individual and the group to ultimate reality is for the preservation of values, religion played its part in developing the sanctions for conduct among Romans. The industrial virtues have their religious aspect in duties, a neglect of which was reprehensible. The military virtues developed to their highest pitch included the necessary virtues of intellectual pursuits and the systematic conduct of daily life. It is impossible to trace in any brief way or even to enumerate the many phases of the growth and decay of Roman morals, but lifted out of the entire process there is the ideal of loyalty to the home, to ancestors, to the State; with a glad and sacrificial doing of all the duties involved in these relationships. When this ideal of civic righteousness is blended with the other ideals coming from simpler or more humane civilisations, its sternness will be modified, but its vigour and value need not be lost. If we ever find a moral substitute for war, such virtues as militarism has required and developed, autocratic, aristocratic, self-sacrificing and invincible as they sometimes have been, can be assimilated to the requirements of the gentler arts of peace and human progress.

*Primitive
Christianity.*

It is necessary to be constantly on our guard when we speak of Christian moral ideals. The contribution of the New Testament, especially the teachings of Jesus, to human thought and conduct should be considered apart from any ecclesiastical or political organisation—in short, apart from any later development of theology. After Christianity was established in its composite ecclesiastical form as a favoured religion of the Roman Empire, its influence was an

entirely different thing from the Christianity of the first century, which could make its way only through the sheer self-evidencing, compelling power of its spiritual and moral ideals. While Christianity in its ecclesiastical expression from the fourth century on to the period of Reformation was a tremendous, disciplining organising force in the world, taming barbarians, teaching unity, nursing learning and organising the civilised world, it had little of the revolutionary vigour and freshness of first-century Christianity. It would be almost the truth to say that the religion of Jesus and the apostles became a Gospel of spiritual emancipation and hope for the proletariat. By its sheer lifting power it raised the submerged peoples of the world out of hopelessness into hope ; out of fear, depression, degradation and misery into self-conscious sons of the Living God, and sharers of eternal life. It would be safe to say that at no time in the history of the world has a transforming force of spiritual idealism been so manifest as in the period of the making of the New Testament, and the launching of the Christian Church on its course. Any egalitarian philosophy of life will find itself seeking reinforcement and moral support from Jesus and the New Testament.

In His first sermon, preached in His home town of Nazareth, Jesus opens the roll of the ancient prophet Isaiah and quotes what is a spiritual bill of rights to the "lost," the "last," and the "least" of mankind. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me to preach good tidings to the poor ; He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the jubilee of the Lord."¹ Over against the background of the militarised social order, that knew little or no ruth and pity, and over

¹ Luke iv. 18.

against the aristocratic religious order, this pronouncement stands, and is the germ of hope to the multitudes grovelling under the double yoke of tyranny of Roman and Pharisee. It is a message to the dispossessed and disfranchised. It is a challenge to every established order where special privilege of whatever sort denies equity and social justice to any. It is the daring dream of equal opportunity, of spiritual competency to the lowly and unrecognised of earth. It is Brotherhood raised to the n th power. What the Roman by the implications of his moral ideal would regard as weakness, Jesus enthrones in His teachings as infinite strength. "Blessed are the meek : for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the peacemakers : for they shall be called the children of God."

Primitive Christianity as enunciated by Jesus, and demonstrated in His attitude and activities, goes straight across the settled opinions of the age. That any need be bereft or denied a share in God, in recognition, even in the good things of this life in order that some other class should receive a blessing, He would unqualifiedly deny. True, He set forth and Himself demonstrated the principle of vicarious love and service, but *all sacrifices are to be voluntary and for the good of others through love*. As opposed to the Pharisee whose pride, self-righteousness, and exclusiveness unfitted him for fellowship with his kind, and for a life of Brotherhood, Jesus would say : "Blessed are the teachable in spirit : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the pure in heart : for they shall see God. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness : for they shall be filled."

It was not by accident but rather by choice and design that Jesus has taught us what only a few of

the sociologists even to-day dare believe. In a manner unmistakable, and demonstrated in a fellowship and Brotherhood of three years, leaving a product in literary deposit, and a stream of spiritual influence, coming down the years, Jesus expressed His faith in the common man. Lester F. Ward, the founder of American Sociology, working with and interpreting the tables of vital statistics of France, came to the conclusion that *potential genius and greatness of service to mankind is disseminated among the poor and socially disregarded class of earth, in equal proportion as it is found among the so-called élite*. His conclusion is that it only requires social opportunity, in the form of encouragement and education, to release this divinely implanted spiritual and intellectual energy. Jesus, by an intuition that seems to link Him with the absolute, goes to the heart of the matter, and with a sublime faith in those heretofore shut out from privilege and opportunity, He gathers into His comradeship fishermen, tax-gatherers, and others from the classes of whom it would have been written in His days: "Can any good thing come out of these?" *Faith in the inherent capacity of mankind, as such, to respond to kindness and Brotherhood which releases the powers of the coming age, in individuals, and classes, makes Jesus the supreme Brother of history*. "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God chose the foolish things of the world that He might put to shame them that are wise; and God chose the weak things of the world that He might put to shame things that are strong; and the base things of the world, and the things that are despised did God choose, yea, the things that are not, that He might bring to naught the things that are: that no flesh should glory before God." Thus

insistently to enforce another idea does the Apostle Paul let us into a knowledge of the primitive church. Poor folk, mere nobodies, people lacking in every essential of social and economic and political power these Brotherhoods of early Christianity included. *And the best evidence of the ultimate wisdom of Christianity's appeal to the strong to make an effort in behalf of the submerged classes is that sufficient capacity for organisation and world conquest was developed in these very groups and classes to make Christianity the dominant religion of the leading civilisations of the world since the days of Jesus.* Every revival of Christian history of any consequence and scope has been a reversion to type. Since the Reformation, the Pietist Movement ; the French Revolution, which was the belated, political aspect of the Reformation ; the evangelical revival with the rise of Methodism, with the releasing of moral power to banish the slave-trade and abolish slavery ; the last century of modern missions with its romantic story of evangelism and uplift, are manifestations of the primitive Christian spirit. *The generalisation might be made that social regeneration comes in and through the common people.*

Therefore, that movement which hopes for most of the future in the building of human Brotherhood does well to explore and release the wealth of spiritual power, creative moral energy and leadership among the so-called lower classes. A demonstration of genuine Brotherhood to the unblessed, economically, socially and politically, will guarantee to the movement that dares it the control of the future. *The future does not belong to the classes, it belongs to the masses.*

There are those who will contend that formal Christian theology with its many succeeding orthodoxies has laid a paralysing hand upon the manifestations of the freedom of the spirit which Jesus

taught and which He faithed. We know also that an other-worldly conception of eternal life, and an ascetic interpretation of Christianity as hostile to the enticements of this present world, has almost paralysed, in certain periods, the constructive work of the teachings of primitive Christianity. But when we fully reckon with all that has been said and done to disparage or to misinterpret, to explain away or to minimise the significance of the contribution which Jesus and the early Christians gave to the building of civilisation, it remains to be said that they had the most sublime faith in the salvability of man as man, and the daring hope that out of the lost, the last and the least, as well as from those whom God has greatly endowed, the Kingdom of God is to be built. The Kingdom of God is world Brotherhood, and eternal life is lived here and now, in time under the eye and in the presence of the Living God, and in fellowship with our brother man. *Brotherhood must be established in all the world, or Jesus must be rejected.*

*Eastern
Civilisations.*

There are three contemporary Eastern civilisations with an accumulation of institutions and ideas, the result of a long historic process, the details of which have not been fully explored. India, China and Japan—our brothers of the orient—may yet be able to teach us truth very much needed for the perfecting of a world civilisation. It will not do to assume the attitude of superiority or to ignore the habits or ways of life of myriads of people who have had a tolerable civilisation for millenniums. “They, without us, cannot be made perfect.” True; but it is also true that we without them cannot be consummated.

India.

The civilisation of India doubtless owes much to climate and the natural resources of the land. But past question the significant fact is the atmosphere which religion and religious ideas has created. The differences in racial stock and capacity from those of lighter skinned peoples of course are important. Temperament, individual and racial, is a fact with which physiologists and psychologists reckon. Kipling hit off a rather significant, as well as clever, statement when he said :

“ It is not good for the Christian’s health
To hustle the Aryan, brown,
For the Aryan smiles and the Christian riles,
And it weareth the Christian down.”

We need not go into a discussion of the historical and speculative basis of the class morality of India—the caste system with its iron-clad differentiation of the people into permanent groups—privileged and non-privileged. Reinforced by religious sanctions there are the four castes, or classes—Brahmins, Warriors and Rulers, Peasants and Miners, and Sudras. The outcast or pariahs are the most degraded of all the peoples. *Sinister and fateful in its influence over the morality and the hopes of the people, this caste system is a fact with which the spirit of Brotherhood, vibrant in the great human family as such, has to deal.*

It is also true that the religion of India, or the climate, or the economic conditions—perhaps these and other causes combined—have developed a spirit of pessimism which, in a measure, inhibits the will to live, at least paralyses the spirit of ambition and social progress. Fertilising ideas from without are probably now serving as a corrective to this spirit of pessimism; but it could hardly be maintained that the religious and moral ideas indigenous to

India could ever be the ideals which would create a magnificent future. Meditative and introspective races holding the pessimistic philosophy of life of Buddhism have the weakest sense of personality and humanity, and develop the fewest practical agencies and inventions which bring progress.

And yet, here are millions of people whose devotion to the ideal as they understand it, whose willingness to sacrifice for the ideal, whose innate capacity to achieve, past question, is equal to that of any of the peoples of the earth. The eightfold path of Buddhism, sometimes condensed into the fourfold path of deliverance, includes right belief, right resolve, right speech, right thought, right occupation, right effort, right consecration. Condensed into right thoughts, right words, right deeds, no statement of human duty could be more inclusive. "Be gentle and merciful and just; get rid of all impure and craving desires, and then at death, instead of suffering some painful rebirth, you will be reborn into some happier condition here on earth, or in some other world." "In a word," said Buddha, "follow after goodness and it will be well with-you."¹ To a people schooled for ages in generalisations as high-toned as these, there is only necessary the practical touch of Western ideas, and the leadership of men of good-will, whose investigations, inventions and socialised knowledge can be brought to bear on India's economic and social problems, so that out of the spiritual treasure-house of mysticism and age-old philosophical thinking there may arise a civilisation of high-souled, achieving men and women. And in the missionary process of developing scientific agriculture and industrialism in India, minus the defects of our capitalist competitive system, we of the West will gain new inspirations to bring home to our own social tasks and moral strivings.

¹ In *History as Past Ethics*, Myers.

The patience, the gentility, the ethical insight, the devotion to the ideal, are qualities not yet perfected in our Western civilisation. They have reached a high state of development in India. Once again, and truly indeed, "we without them cannot be made perfect."

China.

Can China teach us anything? Will a civilisation which has been practically static for millenniums make any contribution to a world order in which Brotherhood will be the regnant spirit? Once again: we must not assume the worthlessness of what the East can teach. "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." This is poetry, and expresses truth from one angle. But it must not be interpreted to mean that when China has had opportunity fully to express itself in the comradeship of the world's peoples, she will have no word of ultimate wisdom to voice.

Democracy among some of the peoples of the West being so new a thing, and the people who profess to be most democratic being so recently out of barbarism, their manner of life is often crude and raw. In many personal relationships the inevitable frictions of life need the oil of suave patience to avoid conflict and bitterness.

Ground into the Chinese character, demonstrated to have tremendous social value, are the ideals of filial devotion and obedience, reverence for superiors, conforming to ancient custom, and the maintenance of the just medium. "Filial piety, chief of the family virtues, is the firm foundation upon which the enduring fabric of Chinese society has been raised. The whole framework of the social structure is modelled on the family, and all relations and duties

are assimilated, in so far as possible, to those of the domestic circle.”¹

Into the fabric of domestic institutions and ways of life, where the individual has been emancipated into large personal freedom and initiative, the tempering quality born of filial piety to give colour and beauty must come. Instinctively the statesmen, or builders of Chinese civilisation, have linked the sex impulse which really ultimately constitutes the undeviating social gravity, with the institutions and ways of life which are outside the influence of consciously recognised blood kinship. Preserving the family and stressing the value of the morals of family relationships, they have preserved their civilisation. Democracy must transfer the fellowship spirit of the family, and the spiritual idealism which the family generates, into the entire social order, and expand the ameliorating, harmonising influences of this spiritual idealism into community, national and international relationships.

Japan.

It is hard to appraise the place and significance of Japanese idealism in any effort to forecast the future of the world, and world Brotherhood. There are those qualified to speak by patient study and earnest, honest examination, who say that in spite of some defects, the system of morals of the Japanese is one of the noblest created by any of the great races. Developed in isolation and under influences which a Westerner has great difficulty fully to sympathise with, these ideals are now to have their influence on the rest of the world. Among the factors helping to determine the spirit of Japanese civilisation have been the family and clan system, ancestor worship,

¹ In *History as Past Ethics*, Myers.

the monarchy of supposed divine origin, feudalism as an economic order, Confucianism, Buddhism, and more recently the borrowings of Western civilisation.¹ As an expansion of family and clan loyalty, we have Japanese society with its Bushido doctrine. The Bushido ideal, which is a sort of Japanese rule of knighthood or chivalry, is a blending of those fine youthful virtues of Western chivalry; of Spartan devotion, and stoic conceptions of goodness and nobility. It developed out of Japanese feudalism, and its prime virtue is that of personal loyalty and fealty to one's chief. In the service of its superior, who might be the representative of family, clan or country, actions which we of the West would doubtless call crimes might be committed. Of course, as by-products of this supreme doctrine of loyalty, courage, self-sacrifice, gratitude, courtesy, benevolence and the like, have developed.

To illustrate how this Bushido idea rises to the sublime heights of patriotism, a missionary who has spent many years in Japan compares it with some of the manifestations of patriotism in the West. She says that she was present when Admiral Dewey, the hero of Manila Bay, returned to New York. The entire city, gaily bedecked and in holiday attire, turned out to greet him. Demonstrations of emotion took the form of bells, whistles, horns and every kind of noisy contraption. Parade and fireworks made a spectacular display. She thought, How patriotic are the Americans!

She was also in Tokio when Admiral Togo returned. In one of the parks a large concourse of people had gathered. Into a hollow square in the midst of the multitude marched the school children from the many schools, adaptations from Western civilisation, where 96 per cent. of all the children of school age

¹ In *History as Past Ethics*, Myers.

are in attendance. Not a sound—nothing to break the quiet of the throngs. The Admiral and his retinue marched in and took position on a raised platform within full view of the gathered thousands. She thought, Surely now there will be some manifestation, some demonstration of appreciative emotionalism! But only silence that was oppressive! Then the Master of Ceremonies stepped forward, and after a brief address, introduced the Admiral, the embodiment of the heroism of this brave little people. As he rose and bowed to the audience, from the throats of the multitude as if with one voice, rose the acclaim, “Bonzai! Bonzai!” (Live for ever! Live for ever) and the spiritual solidarity of the entire people was made manifest.

“Surely,” said she, “this is a manifestation of patriotism.” But later upon an occasion she sat with a little group of Japanese women of one of her classes, and to open the discussion in the friendly way of the West, she asked these women: “What would you women have done had the Russians won in the war, and had come to take your land?” Always retiring and painfully polite, there was at first no response from these women. Then one spoke for the rest and replied: “Teacher, if the Russians had won in the war and had come to take our land, there would have been nothing but land to take.”

The Bushido ideal, in times of national crises, and of supreme social need, has even led men of public spirit and devotion to the common good to commit self-destruction, and to leave a message, thus dramatically driven upon the attention of his people, of some needed reform for the common welfare. It is a tragic method of winning publicity for the proposed reform—a dramatic denunciation of evil.

Thus we have seen that virtue and idealism are

not the achievement of one race or people only, but that moral stirrings and outreachings toward a humane order are found in all ages. *It is probably true that there is no significant biological differences between races, affecting intellectuality and spiritual capacity.*

Aspirations and hopes looking toward human solidarity, toward mutuality, co-operation and Brotherhood are the common heritage of humanity, and we who have "lifted up our eyes unto the hills" believe that out of the eternal and essential order of things, because written into the structure of the universe, comes the positive assurance that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth."

Brotherhood, in response to all the idealism of the human spirit, and in response to the drawing power of the spiritual gravity of God, must develop living devotion to the well-being of all our brothers everywhere, in a spirit as catholic, as humane, as consecrated, as that of Him who gave Himself for the life of the world. "One is your Master, even Christ, and ALL ye are brothers."

THREE outstanding problems—master problems—affecting human association, and presenting the most difficult challenge to the spirit of Brotherhood, are found in modern civilisation. The problem of industrial relations¹; the problem of race relations; and the problem of international relations or of a world State.

While this is being written, what is tantamount to civil war is taking place in a large mining area of West Virginia in the so-called enlightened United States of America. Martial law has been declared, and federal troops have been despatched to reinforce the State constabulary, as the miners are applying the feud methods of this mountain region, and are firing from ambush on mine guards and State troops. At the same time a race war is raging in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the newspapers reporting that seven whites and sixty-five negroes are already killed, and several hundreds of both races wounded. The negro quarters of the city are burning, having been fired by the white mob, and 6,000 homeless negroes are huddled together in stockades under guards to defend them from the fury of the mob.

News also comes of guerrilla warfare in Silesia, where, according to the Treaty of Peace, a plebiscite

¹ We are using "industrial relations" in its broadest sense here, referring really to industry, finance and trade. In the restricted sense of the relation of the parties in actual industry, the discussions in the last section of this chapter have to do.

was to decide the question of control, and this struggle for the coal-fields of Central Europe threatens the peace of the world, and is straining the newly woven fabric of the League of Nations with destruction, and according to reports is creating bitterness between the Allies and bidding fair to become the cause of further misunderstanding and conflict.

But these are only symptoms, for in industry, in race relations and in international affairs the underlying fact is that Brotherhood is so often baulked, and humanity languishes far from the Kingdom of God.

This has been called the Industrial Civilisation, and Brotherhood, to be effective, must find a way to humanise industry, and make the finest ideals of the age regnant in all industrial and trade relations. The struggle for daily bread is the fact which looms largest in the life of the vast majority of men in any community. To introduce into the economic struggle of individuals and groups, who are in the process of making a living, the spirit of Brotherhood, is the task of men of good-will. "Deus vult"—God wills it; it must be done. Brotherhood leaders may not have the technical knowledge necessary to cope with the economic problems involved, but the human problem is of especial concern to the Brotherhoods. It is largely a question of imponderables—of spiritual forces after all, and with such we of the Brotherhoods are profoundly concerned.

In connection with this problem it is well to note some of the outstanding facts or phases of the industrial process. We call ours the Industrial Civilisation, although scarcely more than a hundred years have elapsed since the Industrial Revolution and the rise of machine and big-scale industry, which intensified former problems and caused a host of new problems to appear.

*The Rise of the
Working-Class.*

We should notice, first, the rise of the working-class since the Industrial Revolution, with an unprecedented rise in the standard of living.

In keeping with instincts just as fundamental and as impossible of eradication as are any of the more humane and tender instincts of life is the determination of the workers to achieve and maintain a standard of living and a place of freedom for themselves in the social order.

“In the Græco-Roman world there was a widespread and powerful labour movement, based upon the fact that the laws of Solon gave the right of combination to the toilers. The first phase of this movement culminated in revolt by the workers and massacre by the ruling powers. When Jesus was born, a secret labour organisation ran throughout the Roman Empire. It was the Brotherhood of the toilers, whose great ideal was organisation of the world of work on the basis of the family, with common ownership and mutual service. This underground organisation became, later, a channel for the spread of Christianity. Its complete suppression by imperial edict is intermingled with the persecution of the Christians. So complete was the suppression that, among the features of Roman civilisation which carried over into Western Europe, there is no trace of its labour organisation. The labour movement, as we know it, begins with the invention of the power machine.”

The story of the rise of the working-class (in the modern period) has been told in many ways. It sometimes looks like a crass, selfish movement,

needing to be frustrated of its purpose by larger community interests, and loyalties, but when properly appraised it may be shown to have less of portent than of promise. Its class programme will probably never be realised, but it will doubtless release great forces of social service, and thus ultimately advance the common good.

The histories of social and industrial progress in England contain the facts concerning the rise of the workers. The writers and artists have pictured the contrast between conditions when the factory system first began and labour's present enviable place of comfort and of power. When the artist could represent the condition of women in industry by a picture of a woman, stripped to the waist, pushing a coal-cart in a coal-mine, doing the work of beasts of burden for long hours, away from home, and even away from the sunlight, the heart of her brother man now rejoices that such a day is gone, and please God, gone for ever. When the bitter cry of the children, harnessed prematurely to unrequiting toil, was voiced by the poetess, the heart of those of brotherly and fatherly spirit responded to lift the burden of industry off the shoulders of childhood. A new conscience has had to be formed to cope with inhuman, brutalising conditions.

Often fighting without the aid of other groups and struggling against vested interests and intrenched wrongs, the workers have made their way from intolerable servitude to decency, to self-respect, to competence, and, as by far the most numerous group in the social order, to a place of power and prestige. Brotherly men are glad for this, but only a conscious extension of Brotherhood into the newer conditions can bring prosperity with peace to our industrial civilisation.

Mr. F. Herbert Stead, of the Robert Browning

Settlement, of East London, in an address on "The Labour Movement in Religion," has analysed and presented in order the rise of labour. From his presentation we may draw the implications of the growth of class consciousness, and this improvement of the condition of the workers for human Brotherhood, which is of the essence of religion.

It has been shown that the Labour Movement was a normal and necessary phase of social evolution as inevitable as the formation of the planets in the cosmic process. It is a part of the humanisation of the race, a factor in the integration of mankind, an epoch in the coming of the Kingdom of God and Brotherhood. In this movement the lower, indeed the lowest strata of society have been lifted to the level of normal human life, and have come to share in the common human heritage, material, mental, spiritual.

Not yet have all of the workers enough of food, clothing, houseroom, and protection against accident and adversity. Not yet are they all fully free from the fear of unemployment and poverty. It cannot even be asserted that a full share of the world's wealth as created in modern industry is distributed to the working-class; but they do have some share in prosperity, and most industrial workers share in the ancient social custom of one day's rest in seven. They are coming to have effective participation in the affairs of State and some effective social influence. The vast stores of civic energy latent in this movement are being released for social service, and those who once feared social revolution from the rise of the working-class know now that the more widely prosperity and privilege are disseminated, the more stable the social order, and the more orderly and just are the changes taking place.

Not only have the workers benefited, but all

humanity is blest as practical Brotherhood enlarges the scope of its benefactions, and as the workers take their rightful place in a comprehensive and just industrial order.

Emancipation.

Labour has now been emancipated from the condition of chattel slavery in all the world, and the social conscience will not tolerate a return. It is hardly believable in this fine day of freedom, that until the end of the eighteenth century slavery existed in Scotland. The Russian serfs were liberated in 1861. Negro slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1834, and in the United States in 1863 ; in Brazil some years later. The writer as a boy has talked with many black men who had been slaves, and even yet some aged negro may be found in my country who in youth wore the shackles of compulsory toil for others. Alexander Stephens, Vice-President of the Southern Slave-owning Confederacy, is reported to have once said that there was no such thing as slavery in the South, it was only a system whereby the black man was legally subordinated to the white man ; but he was unable to fool William Lloyd Garrison and Abraham Lincoln. Slavery had to give way before democracy and Brotherhood.

Organisation.

Labour has organised and presents for the study of the sociologist the largest scheme of voluntary association in all history. As a result of this organisation, legal protection, through legislation, has been sought and found ; enfranchisement has come, or at least has been effected in most civilised lands. Public

elementary education, begun in Sunday-schools as a work of altruism, and extended through voluntary societies, has now become a charge against the State in the most forward nations.

Extension courses, continuation schools, folk high schools, and many other forms of lecture and forum, serve to socialise knowledge and increase the intelligence of the workers. Self-conscious, aware of its place in the general social process, the labour movement is with us ; full of potency, full of promise.

But what has all this to do with Brotherhood—is not this the manifestation of class spirit and sectarian divisiveness with menace for the future peace of mankind ? *The greatest significance of the labour movement is what it may, indeed what it must, mean for human Brotherhood. It is the demonstration of the essential equality of mankind, not of individuals, but of classes and peoples. It gives historic proof of the reality of Brotherhood.*

The economic progress and industrial enfranchisement of the workers has been characterised by some of the finest manifestations of Brotherhood of the past century. When have we seen such examples of the sacrifice of the individual for the sake of the common welfare ? This spirit hallowed the labour movement from the first, and in its measure and for its class is close akin to the spirit of those who gave us the example of Christian charity, “ which seeketh not its own,” “ which came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.” The movement has been actuated by the law of service, with the duty to serve and the right to work thought of together. It has thus helped to form the gentler, nobler ideals of the State and its relation to its people. It has, at least within itself, had a frank brotherliness and heartiness of fellowship, which called each other by first names, and frankly recognised equality, thus giving reality

to its own insistence on the universal Brotherhood of men. In keeping with this spirit the movement has sought the abolition of war, although loyal in national crisis; has demanded the abolition of poverty, has fought the ascendancy of mammon, and has held and expressed an unquenchable faith in the future, based not on experience, but hope, and has dared believe in the coming of a higher, better social order.

To extend this class consciousness and practical Brotherhood to include the human family, is the task of leaders and statesmen in all the world.

But, having noticed the changed position of labour because of the labour movement, we return to the industrial struggle and its causes.

Rise in Standard of Living.

The unrest of the world has been intensified in recent years by the fact that the line representing the standard of living has risen rapidly for the toiling masses of the people. A distinction is made by some economists between the standard of living and the plane of living. The standard of living is the ideal or expectation of the people, and is largely a psychological matter. The plane of living is the actual level of participation in consumption of commodities and comforts available. The plane of living would be ascertained by striking an average for a sufficiently large number of households from all classes, to determine how much of the one hundred chief commodities are actually consumed—how much is spent for rent, for food, for clothing, for recreation, and other satisfactions. In England and America it is easily from 25 to 50 per cent. higher than in any other countries in the world. The standard of living is

what the people would like to have, and the satisfactions they are aspiring to have.

In recent years, among the work-people of the world, especially in civilised countries, the standard has risen immensely. The people are able to read, and they know in a vague way of the natural resources, the extent of production and the vast amount of wealth which has been created. The standard of the wealthy and the well-to-do classes has been socialised, and has gripped the mind and imagination of the masses, through the organised and insistent salesmanship of manufacturer and commercial agency. All the popular magazines are loaded with advertisements appealing to the populace. A brief editorial, in the best-selling, most widely circulating magazine, may preach thrift and urge the saving of a margin of the personal income which the workers have as their share of the social income. But scores, even hundreds of pages of illustrated advertising fairly scream with their urgency and solicitation to the reader to buy books, furniture, musical instruments, kodak cameras, piano-players, grafonolas and automobiles. From silk stockings to stone dwellings, the great mass of the people are urged to buy, and desire is aroused—a new psychological background for an unprecedentedly high standard of living is created. When the working girl in the garment trades, for example, receives her three or four dollars' increase in wages, does she go to the savings bank to start a savings account with her surplus? She does not. A silk waist, heretofore denied her, is her first purchase, and she, with a multitude of her sisters, joins the cavalcade that is seeking to spend and consume wealth, which has not been, and perhaps cannot be, created fast enough to ensure to all a participation equal to their expectation. Hence unrest. All groups and organisations of workers, as well as indi-

viduals, are thus in a seething condition of discontent, and are manœuvring and fighting for a position of advantage that, in their case at least, the plane of living, or actual participation in wealth, may be raised.

It seems to be the struggle to maintain this standard of living that has brought on the industrial strife of to-day, with literally thousands of strikes and lock-outs, rather than more fundamental questions of principle, although questions of principle have not been ignored in the struggle. The unrest and dissatisfaction with present industrial arrangements has been extended through the whole social order, and has an international aspect. It is threatening with dissolution the industrial order in every one of the most advanced nations. It is perhaps the most colossal struggle that has ever faced civilisation. Not only are these conflicts and antagonisms producing enormous economic losses, due to labour loss through strikes and lock-outs, sabotage and under-production ; but worse and even more dangerous is the destruction of the solidarity of society, the growth of class organisation and of class hatred, the defeating of the spirit of Brotherhood and co-operation, which constitutes the essence of Christianity and the strength of society. In this connection it might be well to note that no strike is ever really won by either side. Suppose the employer or the corporation gains what might be called a victory, and the workers are compelled to surrender their point. It is ordinarily a question of wages, hours, conditions of work. It has resulted in disturbed industrial relations. Ill-will, with a spirit of reprisal, has been engendered. The men return to work, but there is no external power able to compel genuine, honest, creative work when the disposition is not present. The bitterness which has arisen lessens production,

and may even lead to mild or severe forms of sabotage, and the prosperity and happiness of the employer will likely be ruined. *The workers have become more widely informed, having organised; and, feeling the thrill of awakened self-respect, the ultimate outcome of suppressed justice and freedom, or of the expression of tyranny or autocracy, is the soviet or some other sort of revolution.*

Strikes are not *ends*; they are results. They either are manifestations of intolerable conditions in the present order of things, or they are the birth-throes of a better order. Only the most recalcitrant Bourbon or utterly impervious conservative expects to see industrial peace come by repression and taking the back track. The difficulty is too deep-seated; only the combined efforts and frank, sincere purpose of all parties concerned in industry can bring peace. *It must be industrial Brotherhood with peace, or industrial chaos. And the spirit of Brotherhood is brooding over the deep and a new cosmos of co-operation, efficiency, justice and good-will is in process of being created.*

The Co-operative Movement.

Another movement of considerable import as affecting the commercial and industrial situation is what is known as the co-operative movement. The trade union, or, viewed more widely, the labour movement, is essentially an organisation of producers. The co-operative movement is essentially an organisation of consumers, although that characterisation does not tell the whole story of the point of view and activities of the co-operatives. However, its purpose at first was to secure cheaper commodities

by organising consumers so that by co-operative buying they could avoid exploitation at the hands of manufacturers and merchants. It has sought to eliminate the secondary producers—middlemen and salesmen—who have assembled and marketed goods by purchasing direct from manufacturer and grower. Thus a Brotherhood of consumers would undertake to put "time and place utility" in goods, themselves, and be freed from the paying of large tribute to middlemen and merchants who had formerly performed this service for them. It is not getting something for nothing. It is the furnishing of necessary capital and some managerial service collectively by the groups to be benefited thereby.

In England, from the time when twenty-eight weavers put in their pound apiece and bought some oatmeal and butter and other groceries, and organised their little store, this movement has spread rapidly. In 1864 their great wholesale store was opened. There are now 1,467 societies in England, with 4,182,019 members with wholesale and retail stores using approximately \$450,000,000 (£98,801,231) capital, with a net surplus of \$100,000,000 (£21,809,563) to be divided among the members, with 187,535 employees.¹ The idea has been enlarged and primary production has been undertaken on farm and in factory. Vessels have been purchased to transport goods; agencies are set up in various countries. Tea plantations in Ceylon and cotton plantations in India have been purchased. The societies own about 12,000 acres of farms in England. Factories for boots and shoes, woollen goods, flour and many other products have been opened.

The movement has been expanded to many other countries, and is on the increase everywhere.

¹ *The People's Year Book*, 1921, p. 49.

“In Europe it now embraces one-third of the population, and carries on every form of useful industry. Some of these are the largest of their kind. In some countries a majority of the people are included in the co-operative movement. The organised societies in each country are federated in the world movement through the International Co-operative Alliance.”¹

We may not fully sympathise with all the political ambitions of this movement, but the building up of this great democratic system of industry, with control lodged not in some autocratic employer or corporation owner, but in the members, is fraught with great significance. In the movement a great portion of the public is being educated to provide the capital, the management and the purchasers of the goods. The movement will have its influence in modifying if not destroying the system of autocratic and aristocratic class control of business and industry, as they have agreed to “support one another in their respective and combined efforts to set up a new social order, with the ultimate object of the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth.”

*The Critique
of Industry.*

Our present industrial system is sometimes called the competitive system, when the emphasis of the thinking is upon commerce and trade. It is also called the capitalistic wage system, when the emphasis is on the question of control, but especially upon the manner of the distribution of the product. Autocratic control of the conditions surrounding production with increasing monopolistic control of prices, as com-

¹ Quoted from Dr. James Peter Warbasse in *Industrial Facts*, by Kirby Page.

binations of capital are effected, and the grudging share which the autocratic rulers of industry are willing to allow to the workers—or perhaps we should say it is wrested from them by combinations of workers—all this is satisfactory to no one except the comparatively small group of autocratic owners of capital and resources, and a few timid souls who bewail any criticism of present conditions and any talk of change, and possibly a few sodden souls who scarcely have courage enough to dare hope for better things. *The majority of people in civilisation recognise the force of the critique of modern industry that is constantly being made, and they recognise the accumulating force of facts and arguments which indict our present method of creating and distributing wealth.*

It is no mere passing misunderstanding between owners of capital and a practically propertyless working-class—it is an indictment of a system. The industrial order is now before the court of public opinion of mankind to give an account of its deeds, and the effect of its deeds on the common life.

It matters not that there are extreme conservatives and defenders of present conditions, who will cite the relative position of comfort of the general masses of the population, as compared with former generations. It matters not that such can cite the cheapness of many of the common commodities, and the multiplication of goods and utilities, to meet the increasing wants of mankind, and to furnish satisfactions for an expanding social appetite. What they say may be true ; what they infer is not true.

Captains of industry, geniuses of organisation, industrial engineers of daring courage, have greatly served to increase the available wealth of the world. Surpluses saved from previous production are being utilised as working capital for increased production. Organisation and standardisation of industries has

made large-scale production possible. Sources of supply have been ferreted out, and new methods of utilisation of natural forces devised. Much might be said in favour of the capitalistic industrial order. It has surely accomplished wonders and has made the rich and varied life of modern civilisation possible. But this is not to say that some other system might not have done as well or better. Certainly, it is not the same as to say that no modification or alteration of our present capitalistic system is necessary, or wise, in the interest of the maintenance of peace, social justice and increasing production. Fair-mindedness compels us to make an examination of the evils and unfavourable conditions in the modern system, especially those that thwart Brotherhood and happiness.

The defects of organisation and method are problems for the engineer. Purely economic aspects of the industrial order must be handled by specialists. Other defects are ethical and often disrupt the peace and quiet of civilisation, and are manifestations of injustice and social unwisdom.

It is not easy to analyse and to set forth the ethical and spiritual defects of the industrial order with any complete assurance that our analysis is final or even correct. But some things are obvious, and we must to the task.

Ethical Analysis of Industry.

Multitudes of analysts and critics have worked on the problem, and there is a veritable chorus of discontent, rising at times into shrieks of malevolent hate of the capitalistic system. We should make our examination in the calmness of the scientific spirit, and a disposition to know the truth which alone can make men free.

We roughly divide these analysts and critics into two classes. First, those who believe that the evils are inherent, ineradicable and incapable of satisfactory amendment. Second, those who believe with a varying degree of positiveness, based upon the seriousness of their findings, and their criticism, that by orderly and progressive industrial reconstruction, instead of revolution by violence, we can achieve the things sought and bring about a more just and efficient industrial order.

We may leave the question of methods of amendment or change, and summarise the criticisms and indictments. The first charge is that "capital, as it is logically established in modern industrial countries, is bound to answer to the charge of having acquired legal rights which public policy cannot permanently concede. Without going into any bill of particulars under this point, it might suffice to say that a considerable body of opinion believes that those who own and control capital entrench themselves in a position of privilege and social power by their control of legislation and the courts, in such a way as to be inimical to the public good, furnishing temptation to action based upon selfish class interest in violation of the rights of the general public." In my country during practically all of its history, as industrial communities have arisen, and great manufacturing and commercial concerns have exploited the natural resources of the country, lobbyists, representing vested interests and capitalistic combines, have infested legislatures and the national congress, using every form of political pressure to bring about legislation favourable to themselves, or to defeat proposed legislation seeking to curb their depredations. Conditions are not as bad now, but the same activity goes on, more subtle, but none the less socially dangerous, and in violation of ideals of right and justice and fair

play. Incidentally, capital has been found guilty at times of interfering with production. Plants have been shut down to hold prices up, or factories have been closed to maintain monopolies. Goods have even been destroyed to maintain a high level of prices. In this connection the criticism runs on to say that our present system is a blind system of production with little or no co-ordination, with wasteful duplication of effort which, when improved, leads to monopolistic control and exploitation of the consuming public, in the selfish interest of a small class who control the process of production.

“Figures show that, on the average, 40 per cent. of blast furnaces were kept idle during the past decade. The consumers paid about \$79,200,000 yearly for these unused furnaces, of which, at least, \$49,500,000 was avoidable. The total waste of fuel in steel and iron plants to-day as compared with 1915 is nearly \$12,000,000, which, if saved, would be enough to increase present wages of every worker in the industry by something like \$200 per year.”¹

It has been charged that co-ordination of productive effort is well-nigh impossible under existing arrangements for the control of capital. Listen to an arraignment of the wasteful procedure, and the social unfitness of certain features of the capitalistic system, as it is working in basic industries in the United States.

“It is appalling to see copper ore brought from Arizona to New Jersey, 2,000 miles, for refining, shipped from New Jersey to Connecticut, 150 miles, to be turned into brass fixtures, reshipped to Michigan, 900 miles, to be fitted on automobiles and furniture,

¹ Statements taken from W. N. Polakov, Industrial Engineer, “Organised Sabotage,” *Socialist Review*, April 1920, pp. 198-205.

and finally shipped to consumers. It is almost incredible that we are wasting annually up to 100 million tons of coal, which means about 100,000 miners working all the year round underground to produce coal which is burned for no purpose whatsoever. A survey of industrial plants throughout the country in all the industries would show that hardly 60 per cent. of our means of production are constantly used, and that, while used, they are operated far below the possible efficiency. Our statistics show that nearly half our improved farm land is not under cultivation; that during the past twenty years we did not increase crops per head of population by any fraction of a bushel; that little France, on an area smaller than Texas, produces alone nearly half as much wheat as the United States. There could be no end of quoting and substantiating examples of our waste and inefficiency that may sound to some like a fairy tale and to some like a speech of a prosecuting attorney. . . .

“Bituminous coal, even of poor grades, can be distilled at low temperature, and yield fertiliser and ammonia, benzol (a superior substitute for gasoline), tar (the basis of most of our dyes), medicines, chemicals and perfumes, and a surplus of gas. After these commodities are extracted, 1,400 lbs. of smokeless, dustless, odourless and tough artificial anthracite are left out of every short ton of raw coal.

“If the 400 million tons of coal annually burned raw for power production in this country were so treated, the following products would be obtained :

- 1,200,000,000,000 cubic ft. fuel gas.
- 4,000,000 tons ammonium sulphate.
- 1,000,000,000 gals. crude benzol.
- 3,600,000,000 gals. tar.
- 288,000,000 tons artificial anthracite.

(These figures may need slight revision with reference to any particular grade of coal or any particular process.)

“The use value of all these commodities will be nearly four billion dollars, instead of two billions, which is the worth of the raw coal, and thus about two billion dollars would be added to our national wealth in the form of wages and profits. Private concerns are slow to realise all these advantages because of the need of large investments and new franchises. Municipalities, by underwriting such integrated multiple-production plants, can serve the urban and suburban population with enormous economy.”¹

The foregoing quotation obviously sets forth a condition for which the industrial engineers are largely responsible as technicians, but in so far as capitalistic autocratic control of industry is wilfully wasteful, it involves a moral issue. *Any method of controlling and administering industry must by every possible means seek to conserve natural resources, with the widest and longest service to this and succeeding generations, as a motive, or stand condemned at the bar of enlightened public opinion.*

Another indictment of the capitalistic system of production is that it is concerned primarily with the making of goods and the securing of profits, and regards labour in the nature of a commodity to be purchased in the cheapest market, the labour market being manipulated in the interest of the lowest possible wage scale, and larger dividends, as a return for the service of capital. The workers are not regarded, so far as the system is concerned, as ends in themselves. This indictment, if based upon facts which will substantiate the charge, is a serious one, for the life

¹ Mr. W. N. Polakov, Industrial Engineer, statement at a recent meeting in New York of Research Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

of the worker is certainly of primary importance, and should have first consideration as against other factors in production. Abraham Lincoln once said : " Labour is prior to capital, and is entitled to superior consideration as against capital." Present methods of machine production, with the prevailing spirit on the part of investors and owners, make it almost impossible for labour to receive full justice.

" What is there in the nature of the present-day industrial employment that has bred such universal restlessness and discontent ? The demand for higher wages, for shorter hours, for improved working conditions and share in the management, and all of the other existing causes of strikes and labour disturbances, are only symptoms of a deeper industrial malady, which the highest wages and the shortest hours may relieve, but fail to cure. The munition workers bought bungalows, touring-cars and diamonds. But they, like a million workers of to-day, were sick at heart. They were dissatisfied, but why ? There is one but answer. *Our social unrest is a disease of the soul, and not of the pocket-book.* Our working-men are sick of the monotony of machine labour . . . the new era has put personality in a steel niche, and it will stay put, else large-scale production is impossible. The strikers on our streets to-day are men entering a blind protest against a system which has taken the fun and romance out of their work, even though it has brought them a standard of living superior to the days of individualism. Some plan must be found whereby men may become interested in their day's work—this is fundamental. It is a twentieth-century problem, and history gives us no clue to the solution." ¹

¹ Statement by David Hood Colcord, in " Slaves of the Machine," *Review*, January 3, 1920.

This statement doubtless describes the psychology of the workers, but the last pessimistic sentence can hardly be a true reading. Already, as we will note later in this chapter, the industrial engineers and labour managers are studying this matter. Heretofore the strike has been a sort of psychical safety-valve for the worker, but its use will be obviated by consciously considering and working out change of pace and change of tasks, with other methods, for the creation of better morale. A way must be found to quicken and interest the imagination of the worker, that he may see the finished work and his part of it as indispensable. Past question, share in responsibility for management would change the worker's psychology, and give him a sense of industrial partnership.

Perhaps the chief indictment, however, against modern industry is that it is organised around a motive which is wrong, and which is calculated to foment and promote strife and utterly unsatisfactory industrial relations. The dominance of this motive of selfishness rather than service disrupts communities, provokes ill-will, and makes it hard for individuals and groups to live happily and at peace. Industry is potential war.

“As long as mineral owners extract royalties, and exceptionally productive mines pay 30 per cent. to absentee shareholders, there is no valid denial for the demand for higher wages. For if the community pays anything at all to those who do not work, it can afford to pay more to those who do. The naïve complaint, that workers are never satisfied, is, therefore, strictly true. It is true, not only of workmen, but of all classes in a society which conducts its affairs on the principle that wealth, instead of being proportioned to function, belongs to those who can

get it. They are never satisfied, nor can they be satisfied. . . . Its disputes which matter are not caused by a misunderstanding of identity of interests, but by a better understanding of diversity of interests. Though a formal declaration of war is an episode, the conditions which issue in a declaration of war are permanent; and what makes them permanent is the conception of industry which also makes inequality, and functionless incomes permanent. It is the denial that industry has any end or purpose other than the satisfaction of those engaged in it. That motive produces industrial warfare, not as a regrettable incident, but as an inevitable result. It produces industrial war, because its teaching is that each individual or group has a right to what they can get, and denies that there is any principle, other than the mechanism of the market, which determines what they ought to get. For, since the income available for distribution is limited, and since, therefore, when certain limits have been passed, what one group gains another group must lose, *it is evident that if the relative incomes of different groups are not to be determined by their functions, there is no method other than mutual self-assertion which is left to determine them.*"¹

The organisation of the workers in recent years, therefore, had as its chief purpose to put themselves in a more advantageous position to do the very thing which organisations of capital have constantly had in mind, namely, to better their condition and to increase their share in the social income. In this respect the workers are no different from the owners and managers.

"There has been an abundance of testimony to

¹ R. H. Tawney, *The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society*.

prove to our satisfaction that some employers have resorted to questionable methods to prevent their workers from organising in their own interests ; that they have attempted to defeat democracy by more or less successfully controlling courts and legislatures ; that some of them have exploited women and children and unorganised workers ; that some have resorted to all sorts of methods to prevent the enactment of remedial industrial legislation ; that some have employed gunmen in strikes, who were disreputable characters, and who assaulted innocent people, and committed other crimes most reprehensible in character . . . that some have attempted through the authorities to suppress free speech and the right of lawful assembly ; and that some have deliberately, for selfish ends, bribed representatives of labour. . . . Unionists also cannot come into court with clean hands ; we find saints and sinners, many of them, on both sides.”¹

“ There was unquestionably some violence on the strikers’ part. The city marshal kept an exhibit of stones and brick-bats and other munitions of industrial war, which served to excuse a repressive policy on the part of the police. The Commissioner of Public Safety, who, under the commission form of government, is responsible for police administration, took the position that no parade or other public demonstration should be allowed, because the situation called for a temporary abridgment of such privileges. It was a war manœuvre, and it was virtually a ‘ war psychology ’ that prevailed. . . . The situation was exactly similar to that faced by an army fighting against odds, whose chief requirement is the maintenance of morale. Any yielding of their

¹ Employers’ Group, Canadian Royal Commission on Industrial Relations.

rights as citizens was manifestly a weakening of their cause. As defections from their ranks increased, the strikers became more insistent on the freedom of the streets, more reckless in picketing and more offensive in intimidation. Things were done in retaliation and intimidation that the strike committee could not prevent. There were, for example, a number of fires of suspicious origin.”¹

Industrialism has been indicted for placing profits above life.² Professor Rauschenbush says in substance, a man who would save his money from a burning house, and let his child perish, would be regarded with horror. Whenever human life is at stake in some striking, dramatic way, as in the *Titanic* disaster, our calloused dullness gives way. The awe of human life wakes up in us, and a nation holds its breath to know if life has triumphed. Reverence for human life, as such, is one of the best products of civilisation. A compassionate tenderness for life was one of the marks of Jesus. There is genuine love for human life in modern society, but whereas we have great sympathy for single cases of suffering, there is an astounding indifference to suffering and death in the mass. More than 15,000 persons are killed annually in American work accidents, and some 500,000 are injured. Industry is like a guillotine dropping minute by minute, year in and year out, on some part of the human body.

“The total number of casualties suffered by our industrial army is sufficient to carry on perpetually two such wars at the same time as our Civil War and

¹ Report on the Strike on the Textile Mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts, February–June, 1919, Commission on the Church and Social Service, New York.

² Walter Rauschenbush, *Christianising the Social Order*, p. 242.

the Russo-Japanese War. The unknown total of sickness and death through occupational diseases, such as the poisoning by chemical fumes, or the lung diseases through breathing metal dust or cotton fluff, must be added." "In 1909 few competent authorities dared to assert that more than 50 per cent. of the industrial accidents were preventable. To-day we do not hesitate to say that from 75 per cent. to 90 per cent. are preventable. *They have not been prevented because we are interested in profits rather than in life.*"

"The class in control has no direct financial interest in the safety of the workers. If a machine breaks down the owners must buy another, therefore the machines are kept oiled and burnished. If a man sickens through carbon monoxide fumes, or the heat of the blast furnace, it costs the owners nothing. In many ways the safety of the one class can be increased only by decreasing the income of the other, and therein profit is pitted against life. It would cut down profits to substitute adult workers for the child workers. The capital invested in an industrial plant would return a maximum of profit if the machine were in operation all the time and at the maximum speed. But the longer they work it, the more exhaustion and accidents. The interest of the owner to that extent is against the safety of the workers. Human kindness is not vigorous and durable enough to offset such a strain. Capitalism is, therefore, directly responsible for a part of the large ratio of industrial accidents and diseases. This indifference to the life of the workers was clearest during the youth of capitalism, before the State interfered. In the early days it impoverished and degraded a great strata of the population in England. We have grown rich because whole races and tribes and continents

have been depopulated for us. Every step of State interference has been resisted by the financial interests affected by it.

“Our industrial cities are clean and beautiful at one end, and dirty and joyless at the other. The hard and loveless spirit of industrial life spreads to the whole community and tends to brutalise us all.”¹

Under compulsion of community sentiment and the unquenchable tide of brotherly feeling that surges through all life, the evils of profitism have at times been curbed and mitigated. But the evil has certainly not been removed. In the fall of 1919 there occurred one of the most significant strikes in American industrial history. An attempt was being made to organise the steel workers, and the ground of the steel strike was for the recognition of the unions, and in order to secure conferences and collective bargaining. A Commission of the Interchurch World Movement² made an investigation of this strike, regarding it as a typical instance illustrating practically all the evils of the present capitalistic system, especially that phase of the situation known as industrial relations. Incidentally they found that approximately one-half of the employees were subject to the twelve-hour day, and that less than one-quarter were working less than sixty hours a week. Four thousand and forty-nine men out of 6,315 in blast furnace departments in 24 establishments worked 84 hours, or seven days a week. Similar conditions prevailed in the open-hearth section, where there was no necessity for continuous operation. A sample schedule was 13 hours nightly for five nights, 15 hours the next night, followed by 24 continuous hours, for

¹ See Report of the Steel Strike of 1919, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York.

² Professor Rauschenbush. The last paragraphs are substantially his indictment in *Christianising the Social Order*.

two weeks ; thus 107 out of 168 calendar hours were spent under the plant roof. The twelve-hour day is the most iniquitous by-product of the corporation's labour policy, which is to get cheap labour and keep it cheap. It is not necessary to go into the question of wages more than to say that the earnings of 72 per cent. of all in the industry were, and had been for years, below the level set by the Government as a minimum of comfort level. Nearly three-fourths could not earn an American standard of living. Most of the houses built by the companies and leased at low rentals were for miners ; erected in heretofore uninhabited regions, where towns had to be built before mining could go on. The total number of employees at manufacturing plants was 191,000, and the total number of the companies' houses near the plant 10,000. That is, 181,000 steel workers had just as much chance to get a corporation built, low rental house, as they had to get Mr. Gary's New York mansion.

The labour policy of the steel corporation was utterly opposed to the organisation of unions, and under-cover men and spies were used in many of the plants. Workmen were discharged for unionism, and the men were not even permitted to hold a meeting for the purpose of considering the wisdom of organising. Men secretly elected to office in a new union local were discharged next day. Men in the company's employ as long as thirty-five years were discharged, through report of some man, who later proved to be a spy, because they had joined the union. Thousands of men were summarily discharged in an effort to break up unionism in the industry. By collusion with the civil authorities, civil liberties were even denied. The denial of rights of assemblage and free speech has been the rule in towns about Pittsburg, so that labour organisers could not hold

meetings. Committees lost their rights of assemblage so completely that even patriotic lectures at times were impossible, in order to maintain the steel company's non-union policies. During the strike violations of personal rights and personal liberty were wholesale. Men were arrested without witness, imprisoned without charges, their homes invaded without legal process. Although the strike was broken, the grievances of the workers are still unredressed. The situation is itself an indictment of the present industrial system, which in so many cases seems to have no method by which these injustices can be remedied. In the case of the steel corporations, at least, the indictment that this industry puts profits for absentee investors and owners against life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is proved to be well founded.

But perhaps we have had enough to show that Brotherhood is at times checked, outraged, made impossible, in great sections of our social order because there is so little real Brotherhood in industry. At times this condition threatens to bring on social revolution and radical schemes of cure. Fortunate, indeed, is it for our civilisation that the social conscience of many of our committees is awake and alert, and that an increasing number of high-souled brothers are determined to find a solution of our difficulties and to bring Brotherhood into industry. It will require the combined intelligence and good-will of all of us to make the transition to a juster and more humane industrial order without disruption and violence. Everything is now so colossal and complicated. Infinite faith in one another, patience with the reactionary, individual integrity and social wisdom must be brought to bear on the problem.

*What is being
done about it.*

A mere gathering together of the protests of idealists, the statements of principle by moralists, the endeavours of statesmen and publicists, and the practical schemes of men who direct and control industry, would make a library of current, tense, significant literature. This literature is all so full of hope, but we can only note a few examples which indicate a trend toward what, for want of a better name, we will call Industrial Democracy or Industrial Brotherhood.

Our idealists and spiritual leaders, certainly those of the saner sort, believe that the necessary changes can take place in an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, and exhort us accordingly. Their exhorting is significant. It is a sort of spiritual climate enveloping a tense and trying situation. The fact that we have such brotherly high-grade personalities in our social order heartens us, for climate and atmosphere will be a potent factor for the maintaining of peaceful methods of procedure and orderly, constitutional change.

A statement which was published by some of the religious leaders of England, representatives of all the churches, during the great railway strike of September 1919, will effectively serve to illustrate this phase, and this factor in the situation. It is typical of the attitude and endeavour of our best spiritual advisers.

STATEMENT PUT OUT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL
CHURCHES

“At this grave hour in the home life of our country, those who hold a representative position in the Churches of the land ought not to be silent. In

present conditions wide consultation has been impossible, but we believe our words would be endorsed by our brothers everywhere. We frankly deplore the strike, the suffering it entails, and the precipitancy with which so grave a step was taken. But we deplore still more the currently expressed opinion that such a struggle was inevitable, and must be fought out. We believe this to be one of the 'strong delusions' with which from time to time the powers of evil distract the world.

"Never was there a time in England when the whole community was so resolutely set upon securing really worthy conditions of life for all grades of industrial workers. The comradeship of the war has quickened the public conscience, and we do mean, please God, that all who work for the community should be able to live as men and women ought to live. Upon that vital issue an appeal to our fellow-citizens will be more successful than ever before. But to be effective the appeal must be made to reason, and not enforced by coercion. Coercion, which threatens to paralyse the life of the community, alienates the very sympathies which are everywhere awake, and, by the general suffering which is involved, engenders passion, instead of friendship.

"We are not qualified to express an independent judgment upon the economic questions now raised. It seems to us obvious that these must be further discussed in detail, and we are convinced that there cannot be wanting on either side a spirit of readiness so to debate them afresh. Even if the appeal to sheer force were to be victorious it would leave the nation exasperated and divided into hostile parties. The appeal to reason and justice may seem to be slower, but, along the lines of unity and fellowship it carries, by the blessing of God, the certainty of ultimate success.

“Let Christian men and women everywhere ask, for those on whom responsibility rests, the spirit of wisdom and understanding. No church in the land but should have its gatherings for united prayer, sometimes vocal, sometimes silent. Such prayer cannot be in vain.”

This statement indicates the need of atmosphere, of right climate as a factor in the just resolution of difficulties which threaten peace and Brotherhood. It indicates a fundamental duty resting upon churches and Brotherhood groups to create and maintain such an atmosphere, in which frank and free conference and discussion may go forward, looking to revision and amendment of industrial arrangements. Contrary to the preaching and teaching of some who profess to be bearers of light and promoters of progress, the duty of the Church and the Brotherhoods is to stabilise and steady the process during such crises. To preach revolution and to create a climate of ill-will would be the contravention of all the hopes and expectations of Him who taught us to pray, “Thy Kingdom come, make earth like heaven.”

“Who killed the diplodocus?” the pupil asked the teacher. This prehistoric animal inhabited Canada when it was a steaming marsh; but all such prehistoric monsters have disappeared. The teacher answered, “It was a change of climate.” In this answer is found the suggestion of the paramount duty of the Brotherhood of to-day. It is our duty to create a climate of insistent, appealing good-will, that will not tolerate repression of speech, suppression of free assembly, or discussion of constitutional change, but which will welcome conference and presentation of grievances, and which in a spirit of justice will seek a basis of concord in actual, concrete social justice. The message and ministry of the Brother-

hoods must be a demonstration of good-will and fair play. "The love of Christ constrains us." It will equally constrain, discipline, order, urge forward, and control the new industrial order that is bound to be born, if the bearers of the Christian religion deliver their message and insist upon the recognition of His spirit in this present situation.

The idealistic and conciliatory view is held not only by ministers and moralists, but by many of the industrial toilers as well. The resolutions passed on Sunday, January 25, 1920, by the Ohio Valley Trades and Labour Assembly of Wheeling, West Virginia, reveal the spiritual qualities and receptiveness of the working people, and point the way to a better understanding and spirit.

"Be it hereby resolved that we, the duly elected delegates, representing all of the organised crafts of the Wheeling district, do hereby unanimously declare it to be our belief that the teachings of Christ constitute a platform upon which all men agree.

"Second, That we believe they can be applied to the modern industrial problems.

"Third, That we will co-operate with those who will join with us in an earnest endeavour to apply His teachings in the Wheeling District.

"Fourth, As a further evidence of our sincerity we have duly appointed a committee of three to confer and decide what methods shall be pursued."

From the Information Service of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, we quote the following :

"One of the most illuminating experiments in Christianising industrial relations is that which has for more than two years been carried on by the Dutchess Bleachery, at Wappinger Falls, New York.

The Chairman of the Board of Management, Mr. Harold A. Hatch, is an earnest Christian layman, who is in the forefront of liberal industrial movements. The Secretary is the Rev. James Myers, who has specialised in industrial relations.

“The Dutchess Bleachery is among those establishments which make much of the principle of partnership, but not by way of opposing trade unions. Union agreements are cordially made and observed.

“The plant publication, *Bleachery Life*, in its issue for April 15, contains a striking communication which we reproduce here in large part :

“ ‘ Open letter to the Railroads :

“ ‘ As shippers, as consumers, but more particularly as Americans, we are profoundly disturbed by the present controversy between Railroad owners and Railroad Unions.

“ ‘ Not at all as experts in Political Economy or Social Science, but only as the fortunate possessors of a bit of unique experience do we venture to describe the situation as we see it, and to suggest the lines of a possible solution. . . .

“ ‘ More than, and quite apart from the service you render, or its cost, we regret your attitude toward us and toward each other. You, Mr. Railroad Owner, seem to regard the railroads too much as a source of personal profit ; you, Mr. Railroad Employee, appear to regard the railroads too much as a source of high wages, whereas, in reality, the railroads are primarily enormously useful instruments of service. Is it too much to ask of you to bring yourselves to regard the railroads in this light, and to form a PARTNERSHIP OF UNIONS AND OWNERS to operate them as a trust for all your fellow citizens ?

“ ‘ If you will make the concessions necessary to do this, you will perform a service second to none since

the establishment of the principle of political democracy. . . .

“ ‘We Partners of the Dutchess Bleachery, Inc., have worked for nearly three years now in our small plant, employing only 600, under our “Partnership Plan.” We have a Board of Management, composed half of representatives of operatives, and half of representatives of owners, with a provision for impartial arbitration in the case of a tie vote. We pay a 6 per cent. wage to capital invested, current wages to operatives, set up two sinking funds, each of 15 per cent. of the balance—one to ensure capital’s wage during periods of depression—one to ensure payment of half wages to operatives during periods of unemployment—and we divide the balance, half to capital and half to operatives, in proportion to wages received.

“ ‘On our Board of Directors are also seated Representatives of Capital, Labour and the Public.

“ ‘We venture to report the results of our Partnership Plan, not because they have any importance in themselves, but because we cannot see why the principle will not have the same results if applied to your great industry.

“ ‘Some results are: (1) We have never had occasion to arbitrate a difference. (2) We have 600 partners with an enthusiasm and determination which will not be denied. (3) We have discipline, not less, but more exacting than heretofore because it is self-imposed. (4) The quality of our work is constantly improving. (5) Our production *per capita* is steadily growing. (6) We are in receipt of a constant flow of suggestions for improvements from various operatives, many of immediate practical value. (7) We continue to earn good profits for division over and above our wages to capital in spite of the extremely depressed business conditions.

“ ‘We are a unit as to the reason to which to attribute our good fortune. Perhaps the chance remark of one of our oldest operatives, who runs an elevator, best expresses the reason, “There isn’t a man or woman in the plant who is not doing his best to help those two fellows make good.” The “two fellows” referred to are the General Manager of the Plant and the Superintendent of Operation.

“ ‘Would a railroad system in which 100 per cent. of operatives “do their best to help the General Manager and the Superintendent make good” have any difficulty in making both ends meet?

“ ‘If the Railroad Unions and the Railroad Owners will organise together, under Boards of Management, of which half shall be elected by the Unions and half by the Owners, with a provision to submit any questions, on which there is a tie vote, to Boards of Arbitration to be appointed by the appropriate Government Agency, and if they will further agree together that, after the payment to operatives of a proper wage which shall have a suitable relation to the cost of living, and the payment to capital of a proper wage, they will divide the balance between operatives, owners and the public (to the last in the form of a reduction in rates), we are convinced that Unions and Owners together will obtain exactly the same results which we have obtained; that they will, consulting together, select the most efficient executives, render the best possible service to the community, each receive the full hire of which they are worthy, and all have the most enjoyable time of their lives.

“ ‘(Signed) BOARD OF MANAGERS.’ ”

These three statements: that of the English clergymen, that of the West Virginia workers, and that of the Board of Management of the operatives

of the Dutchess Bleachery, are chosen out of many, as indicative of the spirit of true Brotherhood and Christianity which is being released into our trying industrial situation.

*Study Groups
and Classes.*

There is a growing interest on the part of Christian men's groups and Brotherhood Study Classes in the ethical and social aspects of industry.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in co-operation with the Canadian Brotherhood Federation, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., have recently published a book, *What is the Christian View of Work and Wealth?* It is the first in the Social Problem Discussion Series. It is phrased in question form, and the purpose is to raise frankly, the questions at issue in the Christian solution of the present perplexing problems of work and wealth, and to give such reference quotations as will set forth the more important opinions held on these subjects, and furnish the bases for the formulation of an intelligent opinion. The book assumes that individuals and groups have a right to do their own thinking, and to come to their own conclusions ; and that what is needed at present is such material as will give the basis for intelligent opinion, discussion and action. The book goes on the assumption that non-expert individuals and groups have a right to a moral judgment on what is promotive of human welfare, and on what is consistent with the Christian view of life, and then that they have a right to insist that the technical experts shall not attempt to avoid the issues by the easy excuse, "It won't work," but shall use their technical skill to embody in industrial and economic life these Christian principles which

the people may come to feel are essential. Among the subjects discussed are the following: "What is the Right Attitude Toward Property and Income?" "What should the Parties to Industry do to secure their Rights?" "For whom should Industry be run?" "What Share should Labour have in the Management of Industry?" "What is the Christian Motive for Industry?"

Another very significant study book published in America for such groups, and for general popular reading is, *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction*, by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. It sets forth the Christian Ideal for Society, the unchristian aspects of the industrial order, etc., in a clear and convincing way. These two books mentioned are typical of a growing literature which is presenting the ethical ideals of Christianity and Brotherhood in constructive statements, and seeking to point a way by which they may be made real and operative in the world of work.

*Christian
Principles.*

And what are the Christian principles or ethical ideals which, when stated, are self-evidencing, and destined to determine all human relationships, and reconstruct every area of humanity's associated life? Briefly stated, they are: "The supreme worth of personality in the sight of God, the Brotherhood of all men as children of one Father, the obligation of service to one's fellows, the law of love as the ruling motive of life, and the duty of faith in God and humanity." Christians may differ on many details, and on the application of the principles of their faith, but they agree on the fact that "man as man has

value to God, that he is a member of a family of which Christ is the Elder Brother, that the members of the family are to be united in mutual service and helpfulness; that the way of life in this family is love; that it is the duty of each to believe the best of his fellows because of his faith in the loving purpose of God upon whom all alike depend." These are the central and cardinal principles which must determine the Christian's attitude. It is remarkable with what unanimity they are stated in widely separated parts of the Christian world in these recent years when the ethical and social aspects of religion so much need statement and emphasis. Sometimes they are stated as the seven social ideals of Christianity: personality, brotherhood, service, liberty, justice, accountability and love. Anything which injures the personality or disrupts fellowship, or is contrary to the common good, stands condemned by the Spirit of Christ. "If any man [institution or section of the social order] have not the spirit of Christ, he [or it] is none of His."

These principles, the worth of personality, Brotherhood, the duty of service, are principles which others than Christians have held, *but "only in the thought and teaching of Jesus are they grounded in reality and presented as destined to be dominant in all human affairs because they are grounded in the very character of God."*

The Christian teaching as to the sacredness and worth of personality makes each individual an end in himself, and becomes the controlling principle of Christian ethics. Following the Pharisee and the Church of Jesus' day, some modern biologists disparage certain individuals, even classes and races, and hold out no hope; while certain so-called practical men, political and industrial imperialists, treat the mass of mankind as means to an end, rather

than ends in themselves. Human slavery, any form of exploitation, is essentially wrong, and to regard the workers as a commodity and a mere factor in production is to seek a quarrel with Jesus Christ. To value people according to their utility to us, rather than for their intrinsic worth, is to flout the idealism of the New Testament. No civilisation which builds the well-being of a few on the continuing disfranchisement and penury of the many will stand, as it is contrary to God's eternal order of things. Yet it is true that many of the unjust limitations, dangers and miseries in the lives of millions of our brother men are not thought of as unchristian, but are regarded as entirely all right and necessary, by many of their fellow-men, who resent and resist any attempt to change these conditions. Social injustice, then, grows out of an attitude, and conditions, which make possible the subordination of one individual to the ends of another, or of one group to another group, through force, or as the result of economic pressure. Social justice is more than the doing of what a legal code demands—it is treating every man as a brother.

Christian teaching makes the principle of Brotherhood the rule governing the relationships of individuals. Those who have such a Father as God are closely related. Jesus taught, in His great prayer which He gave His disciples, that men are to think of God as "our Father"—to seek not personal blessing alone, but "our daily bread," and to recognise social solidarity and common responsibility in asking God to forgive "our trespasses." One human family, one universal Brotherhood, where there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, "but all are one in Christ Jesus," is the ideal of Christianity which we have from the teaching of Jesus. *Class, nationality, race loyalty, or any form of group consciousness*

risers to Christian expression, as it recognises the claims of universal Brotherhood and the obligation of service.

Mutual helpfulness is the prevailing spirit in family life. Each according to his ability contributes his effort; to each according to his need the service is rendered. God, who ministers to all alike in a service of perfect love, sending sunshine and rain on just and unjust, and so loving as to give His only begotten, is the divine Exemplar. "Be ye imitators of God as beloved children," "Be ye perfect [spiritually and morally matured], as your Father in heaven."

A discussion of the sublime ethical and social ideals and principles of Christianity, right in the midst of the discussion of the confusion and strife of the industrial world, may seem to some a strange juxtaposition. But in the midst of the clangour and confusion of a modern mill, and above the angry altercations and shoutings of the contending parties to industrial disputes, we may listen for the voice of the Son of Man. "If a man gain the whole world and lose his soul, what is he profited?"; "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye *love* one another," and the great apostle rises to bear his testimony of his understanding of our Elder Brother: "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." These ethical principles are the imponderables with which captains of industry will have to do. Bismarck knew of the force of spiritual idealism or imponderables, but ignored these realities in his practice of imperialism. The builders of an industrial order, in a civilisation which may hope to abide, will reckon with the idealisms of the Christian Brotherhood. Jesus is destined to be supreme in the final society. "His Kingdom shall have no frontier."¹

¹ Luke i. 33.

*Suggestions looking toward
Industrial Reconstruction.*

Certain steps will need to be taken under the urge of the Christian social conscience to improve or rebuild the industrial order to make it Christian in ideal and measurably Christian in out-working and practice. Various programmes have been presented ranging all the way from the Russian Soviet Republic to benevolent but paternalistic plans for welfare work, with saner suggestions between.

All these schemes, even the Russian Soviet, which is built upon the demonstrated fallacy of the class struggle, are doubtless in some sense the offspring of the spirit of Brotherhood. The Christian tree yields many varieties of fruit. Some of these suggestions looking toward industrial reconstruction are mere pronouncements, and could scarcely be thought of as working programmes of any group which is organised to see them through.

As contrasted with the programme of the British Labour Party, which speaks for those socialists who seek to transform the existing economic order gradually, relying mainly on political action, the Russian Soviet Republic speaks for the socialists who seek immediate economic revolution, and rely mainly upon direct, industrial action. In so far as these or any other proposed course of action is extreme, it is doubtless true that they will be modified greatly in line with the wider claims of Brotherhood, as against class action and control, and diminish in power and significance as the world gets back to normal, constructive thinking. Radicalism will subside. But an onward movement has begun which cannot be stopped until the entire industrial system is overhauled and put in order. It looks as though all the constructive forces in civilisation are acting in

concert and that the next item on the calendar is to *reconstruct industry so as to remove the selfish and unbrotherly spirit in the productive process, release the creative energies of all the factors, remove the extreme inequalities in the distribution of wealth, transfer the supreme emphasis from profits to service as the driving motive, and to abolish the unsocial use of economic power of both the non-serving groups and the selfish aristocracy in industry.* In short, in the face of whatever opposition may raise its head, the conscience of civilisation, as voiced in its social philosophers and spiritual advisers, is looking toward an industrial order based on human Brotherhood.

*Can Industrial Relations
be Christianised?*

We leave now the schemes for reconstructing the social order as a whole, and note the relationship of the parties in industry as now organised, and also note what is being done to make these relationships more democratic and Christian. It has been frequently stated, and oftener inferred, that industrial relations as they now exist are, for the most part, unchristian, impersonal, and unbrotherly; that it is with extreme difficulty that peace is maintained between the parties to industry for any length of time.

Any classification of the attitudes of the employers in this connection would disclose at least three points of view: Those who seem to preach and practise ill-will, suppression and even hate and violence; those who, nominally Christian, and disposed to be gentle in their ordinary personal relations, nevertheless in business and industry feel themselves in the grip of an impossible situation, and who act in accordance with a business code which does not call for pity or consideration; and then there are those who recognise

the difficulties in the situation, but who believe that ethics and the Golden Rule should be carried out in business, and who, in some degree at least, attempt to do so.

Any generalisations concerning the attitude of the workers toward employers must not overlook this fact of radical difference on the part of employers, investors and managers; those who for the present have the practical control of industry.

The first class—those who practise and at times preach ill-will, sometimes involving violence, and who are largely responsible for outbreaks of anarchy and lawlessness, have often tried to identify their attitude with patriotism, and, in the United States, have tried to sail under a banner which they call “Americanism,” as though oppression and class hate could ever have any connection with that word historically and rightly used. They have had quite a vogue in the after-war period. At the risk of being illogical, and seeming to repeat, we note in some detail this attitude.

*The Methodist Social Service Bulletin*¹ has made a collection of some of the choicest ebullitions of this group, and statements showing their attitude; and, by way of contrast, has appended the appeal of a group of ministers which is marked by moderation and sanity.

“SENATOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN: ‘As for the Bolsheviki, we have a way of dealing with him out West; we string them up.’ (Bolshevik, of course, is a name for anyone who isn’t satisfied with autocracy in industry.)

“WALL STREET JOURNAL: ‘We have a flabby

¹ *The Methodist Social Service Bulletin*, edited by Harry Ward, New York.

public opinion which would wring its hands in anguish if we took the labour leader by the scruff of his neck, backed him up against a wall, and filled him with lead. Countries which consider themselves every bit as civilised as we are do not hesitate about such matters for a moment.'

"TREAT 'EM ROUGH: Edited by Arthur Guy Empey; ('For fighting men and their backers'). 'Do not become a Bolshevik. If you feel like fighting go out and smash a Red. It is great fun knocking them off soap-boxes. . . . We will get you a job, and perhaps tide you over financially in exchange for a Bolshevik's scalp.' (Red is anyone who asks for more tolerable living conditions for the workers.)

"JAMES H. KIRBY, President of National Lumbermen's Association (addressing Illinois Manufacturers' Costs Association), advocated a Kluklux Klan to be used against enemies of business. Named American Federation of Labour as chief enemy.—*The New Majority*.

"I. F. MARCOSSON: 'The American Bolsheviks, otherwise the I.W.W., need the firing squad instead of the Federal inquiry.'—*New York Times*.

"CHARLES R. BROWN, Dean of Yale School of Religion: 'The bitterest arraignment of the U.S. Government which I have heard anywhere at any time during the last two years came from the lips of one of the mill managers in Lawrence. The grounds of his dissatisfaction, as he stated them to me, were the wickedness of the Government in taxing excess profits, and the insanely generous attitude of Wilson toward the labour unions.'

"HENRY SKEFFINGTON, U.S. Comm. of Labour: 'The trouble in Lawrence [Mass.] is not a strike, it's a mob. More severe punishments must be made possible in order to stamp out anarchy. . . . For that's all this sort of thing amounts to. . . . When

the time arrives they will be cleaned up in first-class shape.'

"COL. ROY BACON, Director of Mellon Institute, in an address before the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, stated that tear-gas in the future will be used in dispersing striking mobs instead of clubs and revolvers, and that one drop of the gas fluid would be sufficient to kill twenty to thirty persons.

"DR. WILLIAM T. HORNADAY (in a book published for the American Defence Society): 'One night six men of "sand" called at Frank Little's hotel, took him from his bed, in the most quiet and orderly way imaginable, hanged him to a railroad bridge until he was dead.'

"BASIL M. MANLY, Joint Chairman with William H. Taft of the War Labour Board: 'Many employers stir up Bolshevism among their employees. In many cases of alleged disorderly conduct and sabotage reported to the Board, *it was found that employers had themselves deliberately hired operatives and detectives and strike-breaking agencies to go among the men and preach sabotage and instigate violence so as to discredit organised labour.*'

"KENNETH MACGOWAN: 'The Minute Men has an organisation of 100,000 members in Washington. This system is described by its chief as being modelled on the German domestic espionage, which provides a host of voluntary detectives "planted" in all walks of life. Thus there were Minute Men who were already members of labour bodies, and in position to learn the inner purposes of men behind the strike (in Seattle). They used professional pickpockets to discover whether men in a public mass meeting of labour were armed. An official of the Minute Men told me that they had a man on the Committee of the Workers', Soldiers' and Sailors' Council who drew up the constitution of the Council, "and when

he got through he had a document that would have sent to the penitentiary any man who put his name to it.'—*New York Tribune*.

"MAYOR HANSON (speaking of the I.W.W. meeting places): 'We closed every "wobbly" hall in town. We didn't have any law to do it with, so we used nails. We didn't need any more law than we did to stop the red flag; we just stopped it.'

"(This man had the effrontery to aspire to be President of the United States.)

"SEATTLE CHIEF OF POLICE (concerning the Co-operative Printery): 'I had no warrant ordering the place closed. I was tired of reading the revolutionary circulars that were printed there, and decided that I had already let them go too far, so I just locked them up.'

"FRANK RIBAUDO, honourably discharged U.S. soldier, arrested for picketing in Lawrence strike, while locked up at police headquarters was beaten by ten police officers with their fists and clubs in his cell, the key having been procured from the jailor. One of the leaders advised the others to 'finish the job the Huns hadn't finished'; this soldier, when tried in court, was fined \$20 for inciting to riot.

"CHARLES R. BROWN (Dean of Yale School of Religion): 'There is now in the records of the courts of Lawrence sworn testimony establishing the fact that A. J. Muste and Cedric Long, formerly pastors, were clubbed on the street by the police when they had been guilty of no offence even deserving of arrest. . . . These two men were not breaking the law; they were not at the head of a mob; they were alone when they were assailed with the foulest language and were beaten by officers of the law. They were accused of 'inciting riot.' I talked with the Judge before whom they were tried, who dismissed the cases, because, he said, "there was nothing on

which to hold them." These things were not done in Moscow or Petrograd by the irresponsible agents of anarchy—they were done in the city of Lawrence, Mass., in the United States of America, by the members of a police force which, up to this time, has not been officially reprimanded for its action.'

"REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR were not permitted to hold meetings in the city of McKeesport, Pa., last December. In Braddock and Homestead, where halls for meetings had been secured and paid for, local city officials terrorised the owners of the halls into calling off the meetings and refunding the money. In Rankin, where the hall proprietor refused to submit to such dictation, the local Board of Health closed his place.

"THE BOMB CASES: The United States Attorney-General appointed a special force of investigators to discover who was responsible. To date no evidence has been disclosed which gives any information concerning the guilty persons.

"The following appeal was recently addressed to the public by ten prominent ministers of New York City:

"'While the horror of the latest bomb outrage is still fresh in the minds of Americans, we would call attention to the menace of the growth of the spirit of violence, bitterness and unreason among our people. We sincerely trust that the criminals responsible for these outrages will be discovered and *punished by due process of law*. Terrorism must be given no room in our land. But to eliminate this menace it is not enough merely to join in the hue and cry against anarchy and Bolshevism; we must also study the economic and mental factors which make the background for this half-insane type of terrorism. *A common resolve to abide by our time-*

honoured principles of free discussion and the regular processes of constitutional government is the need of the hour.

“ ‘Unhappily, violence recently employed in the name of patriotism has been allowed to go unpunished by the authorities, and has even been praised by leaders in Government and in the Press. In New York on May Day peaceful meetings were attacked, *The Call* building was raided, and innocent men and women suffered serious injuries. Many voices openly praised such treatment of the Reds. But condonations of violence lead to contempt of law and strengthen those who counsel revolution.

“ ‘To meet the situation we urge :

“ ‘(1) That all men and women of good-will set themselves to influence public opinion through every available medium against lawless measures *by whomsoever they may be employed.*

“ ‘(2) That they resolve to see that fair hearings and just trials are given to men, irrespective of their political or economic opinions, so that it may be said that in America no man’s case, be he an I.W.W. or a Bolshevik, or the most reactionary conservative, is prejudged by an appeal to popular feeling ; and in particular that they set themselves against the counsels of hate, whose effect upon the rising generation can be only to pile up future disaster for mankind.

“ ‘(3) Since, in the judgment of the Attorney-General of the United States, existing laws against criminal terrorism are adequate, and since free discussion is essential for the exposure of economic and political errors, that the attempt be abandoned to coerce minority opinion so long as it does not promote disorder, or to defeat social change by repressive legislation.

“ ‘As ministers of the Christian Church and as

citizens of this liberty-honouring Republic, we plead for faith in reason, good-will and fairness to oppose the forces of bitterness and violence in our national life.' "

The animus lying back of the expressions just quoted is a mixture of various motives, but it comes to most frequent expression in connection with industrial disputes. It is certainly one of the tasks of Christianity and Brotherhood to change this attitude of violence and repression to one of sanity and consideration, and even patience for wrongdoers. Hate and violence will never bring about right industrial relations.

Paternalism.

A modification of this extreme position, which, as we have seen from the foregoing quotation, engenders and advocates an extreme public policy of violent suppression, is that of men who insist on practising a paternalistic feudalism not always benevolent by any means. In West Virginia many coal-mines are operated by miners who own no tools, who live in company-owned houses, and trade at company-owned stores, and who have their health looked after, their children taught, their churches supplied by company-controlled doctors, teachers and preachers. Any attempt to express themselves unitedly as to the conditions surrounding their life is brutally suppressed.

There is another class of employers and managers who are trying to be Christian, perhaps in a weak way, but who are blocked by insurmountable unchristian industrial relations. Some investors and directors who are beneficiaries of industry can describe their own situation by the following quotations :

“A man cannot be the kind of Christian you are talking about and run a cotton mill in this town. I have to produce a certain amount of cloth for each machine according to the plans of the efficiency experts. If a widow with four children is working on one of those machines, and cannot turn out the required amount, I cannot stop to think of her needs, I must get somebody else who can do it. I must produce the dividends for the treasurer to pay our stockholders.”

The quickened conscience of many business men raises the question of the need of maintaining hours and wages which Christianity and social justice require, but conscience is so often unavailing, for the traditional social conscience discriminates between certain areas of life. The ethics of the family circle, and the fellowship of the Church, have not been generally required in the workshop and in business; and the individual is, or at least feels that he is, powerless to combat the accepted code of business and industry. *A new code must be created for industry which will make the Christian ideals of social justice and Brotherhood not only possible but the sought and accepted rule of action.*

In time some responsible and authorised commission appointed by the Government, with representatives of the Churches and the Brotherhoods, the employers, the workers and the engineers will make a continuous and cumulative survey of industrial and business concerns, with a view to ethical and social, as well as economic standardisation. The ultimate aim would be to determine whether an industry or business is entitled to continue to exist in the light of its social as well as economic product. Some method will be found to remove the inequities and injustices

inherent in, or incidental to, any particular situation or enterprise, and the way will be made easier for men of brotherly disposition to be brotherly in industry and business without any sort of loss because of any real or alleged defects in the system.

*Good-will in
Industry.*

There is a third class of employers and managers who believe that *much can be done at once and in the present system and method of conducting business to apply the Golden Rule and to make industry Christian in spirit, and its relationships as satisfactory as are those of home or church or club.* These are not waiting for a revolution or any radical amendment of the industrial order, but are proceeding to experiment and demonstrate the economic, as well as the social and ethical value of good-will—that the spirit of Brotherhood may be as real in a business concern as in the most consciously and purposely Christian sections of the social order. They are at least helping to make on the basis of practical tests a new social conscience. The English public is perhaps more aware of this type of employer than the American public, for he is doubtless more frequently found in English industries. Perhaps the way out is along the line of such experimentation.

The various plans, though not alike, have many points in common. Facing what is believed to be a new day with clarified vision due to the war, many organisations, beginning with the Canadian Methodists, who in America were first in the field with a Statement, have presented plans practically identical

in spirit, however much the machinery of accomplishment may differ. The collective wisdom of idealists, business men of good-will, and brotherly union leaders, is brought together in these programmes of Reconstruction.

Labour has voiced itself in many new outreachings for greater freedom of initiative, and participation in management and control of industry. Employers and managers have expressed the conviction of a need of representation in industry, of right commercial practices and right relationships between all who share in the task of getting the world's work done. It is an obviously hopeful situation when organisations like the Quakers, the Catholics, the Canadian Methodists, the Federal Council of Churches, and the Y.W.C.A., together with the denominational Social Service Commissions, set forth programmes *in which industry is to be builded on the foundation of both science and ethics, expert and technical knowledge and fair play.*

The statement that "industry should promote the advancement of social welfare quite as much as material welfare, and that the labourer is entitled to fair wages, reasonable hours of work, proper working conditions, reasonable opportunity for receiving education and for worship," sounds as though it is the pronouncement of some church organisation. It is a part of a declaration endorsed by a body of 4,000 men representing over 400 industries. We may call all this a distinct movement toward Industrial Democracy. "Builded upon the already partially recognised rights of organisation and collective bargaining,¹ we find seven tendencies rising to-day into conspicuous prominence in both industrial theory and practice.

¹ These rights are not as universally recognised in America as they are in England. The recent so-called "open shop" movement of employers is without doubt a reactionary step.

“1. What is called ‘voice and vote’ in management—shop stewards, shop committees, or works councils composed of representatives of both employers and employees with varying suggested degrees of responsibility and control.

“2. Joint industrial councils, in which existing forms of organisation, both of labour and capital, are availed of, and made the basis of new co-operative councils which are of district and national scope. (Varying slightly from this form of organisation is the ‘protocol,’ or constitution method, which emphasises a little more clearly the right of the public interest to representation in an industrial democracy, and reflects the fact that stockholders and management are not necessarily a single unit in a democratic industry.)

“3. The whole question of public rights to ownership and control of the raw materials, sources of motive power, and means of distribution upon which industry depends (‘public’ sometimes being interpreted to mean ‘labour public’).

“4. Whatever the answer to the question of ownership, there is a whole field of discussion relative to the matter of profits and the purposes to which they are devoted.

“5. The carrying of industrial democracy over into the political field, instanced by a desire for labour representation on all state and federal boards, by the formation and growth of Labour Parties, by calls for government control (usually with the emphasis on labour’s direct participation in the government, or what is referred to by certain literary alarmists as ‘the creation of a privilege for manual labour constituting a working-class domination over the new social order.’)

“6. The attempted conservation of the ‘labour’ interests and view-point by the call for national economic councils, with strong labour representation,

and powers broader in scope than merely the research and advisory.

“7. More far-reaching than national councils is the proposal of an International Labour Council to supplement a political League of Nations (and to recommend for its enactment suitable labour legislation) or at least an International Labour Bureau to collect, study, and make accessible all manner of labour facts upon which to base legislation (its work to be based on a uniform system of labour reports for all nations).”¹

Industrial Democracy.

The statements and plans commented on in the foregoing paragraphs have been called strivings after industrial democracy or Brotherhood in Industry.

Political democracy in essence is government by consent, the laws being made and administered by representatives, more or less directly accountable to the people. This accountability of course is realised through precedents, constitutions and necessary forms of procedure, to ensure stability, with little initiative or immediate influence on the part of the general public, or the electorate. Public opinion, however, is very powerful, and the public will sooner or later can be realised in action.

There are those who think democracy is a failure, and that the masses of the people need leaders and rulers to guide and direct their affairs. A much larger number, however, believe that the evils of democracy are to be cured by more democracy. Such persons believe that the extension of democracy to industry is the most vital question now before the

¹ Taken from *Programs of Reconstruction*, published by Y.W.C.A.

world. What do we mean by democracy in industry, and how shall we bring such an order about ?

“Industrial democracy means the extension of the political ideal of freedom for the individual to the sphere of daily work. Political democracy is a system of government based on the free expression of the people’s will. It may be a direct expression as in ancient Athens, the New England town meeting or the Russian *mir* ; or it may be indirect, through chosen representatives, as in the United States’ State and National Governments. Political democracy means equality for all in civic rights and privileges. It rests back upon a regard for the dignity and sanctity of every life, and for a Brotherhood of all individuals based upon full and equal justice. Industrial democracy makes the same high appraisal of the individual, and seeks to secure to each a free scope for his working instincts and a voice in governing his working life. Modern industry is for the most part ruled from above—autocratic. This has been assumed to be the efficient way. Now it is being urged that a democratic organisation will so far enlist the workers’ interest and good-will as to offset any loss in efficiency through distributing responsibility. The old argument against political democracy was to the effect that a benevolent despot can decide for a people what is good for them much better than they can themselves. That argument failed because we have come to see that freedom of choice is essential to spiritual development. So in industry, which is of vastly greater concern to men and women than politics, the workers are demanding not merely better conditions, but the right to participate in controlling the whole enterprise of production.”¹

¹ From 1919 Labour Sunday Message, Federal Council of Churches in America.

Industrial democracy, then, is really government of industry by consent and participation, and must not ignore the most numerous factor, or party participating in industry, namely the workers.

Collective bargaining has ordinarily been regarded as the beginnings of industrial democracy. Such procedure, sometimes forced upon reluctant owners and employers, sometimes provided for as a matter of widened and efficient policy, has been carried on between representatives of the organised workers, usually democratically chosen, and the employees. Training in democracy's privileges and responsibilities has thus been given, but lying back of this procedure has always been the danger of strike or rebellion on the part of the workers, or coercion in the form of lockout, on the part of employer.

*Employees'
Representation.*

A further step in industrial democracy is what is known as employees' representation, of which there are many forms. In America there are perhaps a score of rather distinct plans, or constitutions for industry, providing for representation, with varying powers, on the part of the employees.¹ The extent to which this expression of industrial democracy has been carried out in various industries is already considerable, and there seems to be a rapid spread of the idea and practice.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Junr., is a staunch advocate of Representation in Industry,² and has

¹ Two of these plans, that of William Filene's Sons Co., and the Dutchess Bleachery, are given in Appendix A and Appendix B.

² *Representation in Industry*, John D. Rockefeller, Junr., New York, privately printed.

prepared a booklet on the subject, and is carrying out his ideas in connection with certain industries in which he has had a controlling interest. He presents his idea in what he is pleased to call an Industrial Creed to which the four parties to industry, Capital, Management, Labour and the Community, are asked to subscribe. The following is the Rockefeller Industrial Creed :

“ 1. I believe that Labour and Capital are partners, not enemies ; that their interests are common, not opposed ; and that neither can attain the fullest measure of prosperity at the expense of the other, but only in association with the other.

“ 2. I believe that the Community is an essential party to industry, and that it should have adequate representation with the other parties.

“ 3. I believe that the purpose of industry is quite as much to advance social well-being as material prosperity ; that, in the pursuit of that purpose, the interests of the Community should be carefully considered, the well-being of employees fully guarded, Management fully recognised and Capital justly compensated, and that failure in any of these particulars means loss to all four parties.

“ 4. I believe that every man is entitled to an opportunity to earn a living, to fair wages, to reasonable hours of work and proper working conditions, to a decent home, to the opportunity to play, to learn, to worship and to love, as well as to toil, and that the responsibility rests as heavily upon industry as upon government or society, to see that these conditions and opportunities prevail.

“ 5. I believe that diligence, initiative and efficiency, wherever found, should be encouraged and adequately rewarded, and that indolence, indifference and restriction of production should be discountenanced.

“ 6. I believe that the provision of adequate means of uncovering grievances and promptly adjusting them is of fundamental importance to the successful conduct of industry.

“ 7. I believe that the most potent measure in bringing about industrial harmony and prosperity is adequate representation of the parties in interest ; that existing forms of representation should be carefully studied and availed of in so far as they may be found to have merit and are adaptable to conditions peculiar to the various industries.

“ 8. I believe that the most effective structure of representation is that which is built from the bottom up ; which includes all employees, which starts with the election of representatives and the formation of joint committees in each industrial plant, proceeds to the formation of joint district councils and annual joint conferences in a single industrial corporation, and admits of extension to all corporations in the same industry, as well as to all industries in a community, in a nation, and in the various nations.

“ 9. I believe that the application of right principles never fails to effect right relations ; that ‘ the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life ’ ; that the forms are wholly secondary, while attitude and spirit are all-important ; and that only as the parties in industry are animated by the spirit of fair play, justice to all and Brotherhood, will any plan which they may mutually work out succeed.

“ 10. I believe that man renders the greatest social service who so co-operates in the organisation of industry as to afford to the largest number of men the greatest opportunity for self-development and the enjoyment of those benefits which their united efforts add to the wealth of civilisation.”

A remarkable experiment in industrial relations

in order to do justice, establish good-will and maintain morale has been made by the A. Nash Company, Inc., of Cincinnati, Ohio, popularly known as the Good-will Clothing Company. It is typical of what many employers, especially of the smaller concerns, are trying to find a way to do, and manifests the new spirit that will one day be the ideal in all industrial relations. It would be safe to say that a majority of men who are directly connected with industry, even those who hold to the idea of the right of absolute private property, recognise the value of good-will in the relationships which exist between themselves, their employees and the public.

The experiment of Mr. Arthur Nash of the Good-will Clothing Company is typical in a way, and yet is rather unique. In America the story of this experiment has been found to be well worth telling and has stimulated considerable interest on the part of business men's organisations, Rotary Clubs and Brotherhoods. Mr. Nash himself presents the idea and its outworkings with something of the convictions and enthusiasm of an evangelist. In 1918 Mr. Nash, who had previously been engaged in the tailoring business, bought out a small men's garment factory in Cincinnati, Ohio. He found, upon looking over the first pay-roll that was presented to him, that the average wage in the factory was seven dollars a week, and that some of the older women were working for as little as four dollars a week. He at once concluded that a Christian man could not conscientiously allow the factory to continue on such a wage scale, and yet he was almost convinced that to increase wages, so as to provide each worker with sufficient for a decent living, would bring speedy failure, under conditions then existing in the clothing industry. He took a quick inventory of materials and equipment on hand, and estimated that the lowest-paid women

could be increased three to twelve dollars a week, and others to a proportionately fair wage, and that the company could be liquidated with \$28,000 left to take care of the investment, when all stocks on hand were made up. "We will then buy a farm with what is left, and discontinue business," he said to his son, "for we cannot succeed on the higher-wage basis, and we will not run a sweat-shop, and attempt to succeed on any other."

Mr. Nash thereupon called the employees together. He announced the wage increase, and said: "We will run this factory, as long as we run it at all, on the basis of the Golden Rule." He had come to believe through the past two or three years of intensive thinking, as he says, that *the Golden Rule is the divine law governing human relationships, accepted by all religions and proclaimed by all prophets and teachers of every creed. It is the only infallible, workable, industrial and economic law in the universe to-day.*

Instead of running behind, the factory began to make money. "I learned," says Mr. Nash, "that not only is the Golden Rule God's law for business, but that the saying of Jesus, 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you,' is to be relied on with absolute assurance."

In a year of unprecedented strikes in the clothing industry this company had no strikes. In a year of low production and price cutting they had a tenfold increase of production, they were able to manufacture suits and overcoats to retail from \$16.50 to \$29.00, and when stagnation hit the clothing industry the A. Nash Company did \$81,000 more business in the first six months of 1920 than in all 1919. In the single month of June, 1920, the business was equal to the entire year 1918. The space occupied by the company became too small and in July, 1919, the

factory was removed to an abandoned whisky and distilling building, giving seven times the floor space previously in use. The working force was increased 600 per cent. without advertisement for labour, by having the employees bring in their friends to learn the business. Several increases in wages have been made, and in addition to this a further net profit of \$42,000 on a capital of \$60,000 was divided share and share alike, between the investors and employees. The company was paying higher wages, with no individual receiving less than the union scale ; selling its product for less and making larger profits than any of its competitors.

The 700 employees are one great family. All the business affairs are explained to the workers' open conference. A plan of profit-sharing was adopted unanimously by vote. The working of the Golden Rule is illustrated by the following communication laid on Mr. Nash's desk, signed by seventeen of the better-paid workers.

"Realising that the A. Nash Company is using every effort to be truly just and democratic, and realising that, in making the final adjustment of wages on the profit-sharing basis, a very large share of this final payment, as at present intended, would go to those making big wages ; and heartily agreeing with the management that it is not just that the lion's share of the profits should go to any individual, or small group of individuals, we, the undersigned, all of whom are drawing a weekly wage of over sixty dollars (\$60) do hereby petition the management of the A. Nash Company to distribute the workers' share of profits, which is to be distributed July 1, 1920, on the basis of time worked instead of on the basis of wages drawn.

"This will give those making the smaller wage an

equal dividend with those making the larger one, and we believe it is not only needed by them, but is just and in keeping with the policy of our Company. We are sure this will be appreciated by all the help."

"Says Mr. Nash, 'Let me impress on your minds just what that petition meant in our factory. The skilled labour, like the cutters and the off-pressers, who were making from \$75 to \$90 a week, signed a petition that the poorest paid help should receive the same dividend that they did. In our place we have some old ladies who are past the age of learning to run machines, or doing skilled operations, whom we keep so as to help them feel that they have a degree of independence in life. Besides these there are the beginners, who, on account of their lack of experience, are not drawing large wages. If the dividend had been made as originally intended, the high-paid help would have gotten six or seven times as much as these old ladies, and the new help, who really needed it. When the dividend was made in accordance with this petition, every one who put in the full six months received \$91.80 as his share of the dividend, or a little over \$3.50 for each week's work."

The claim is made that not only has the Golden Rule principle solved all labour troubles in this factory, but that it has eliminated all labour trouble during one of the most trying industrial periods of the country's history. While the factory is not a union shop there is no opposition to union labour. Here is a quotation from one of Mr. Nash's publications :

"I can conceive of no worse condition of abject servitude than for labour to be unorganised, so long

as the present avaricious organisations of capital continue. I would no more hinder or destroy the work of Trade Unionism under present industrial conditions than I would hinder or destroy the work of the physician."

When asked if the company was working out a system for the management of the factory based upon the Golden Rule, so that the method he has developed may become permanent, he replied :

"The thing that I have endeavoured to emphasise is not a system, but a principle ; and wherever that principle is functioning any system will work, and wherever that principle is not active any system will have its difficulties."

But Mr. Nash went on to say, in further answer to the question, that the company is working out a system of co-operative stock ownership, as well as participation in control. As serfdom passed into the wage system, so the wage system, he thinks, will pass into co-operative industry. What he understands by this is indicated by what he is doing and what he is planning to do. Heads of departments are being trained to be capable of going ahead with their departments. All serious moves by the management are taken up with the body of employees, or by departments. An illustration is from the cutting department. Here the cutters themselves worked out a plan by which, through the use of large tables on which garments could be cut and stacked, and by a preliminary classification of orders for suits and overcoats, they were able to increase greatly their output over the old method of small tables and cutting of garments in the order in which they were received. These same cutters, it may be said in

passing, increased their output the first year from six to thirty suits a day.

This brings one to the heart of the A. Nash Company experiment. The business organisation of the company is not essentially different from other factories of its size and type. *That which is distinctive is that it is an illustration of co-operative organisation based upon good-will and just dealing.*

Together with other similar experiments, not quite as spectacular, but equally genuine and sincere, this experiment shows what stores of power there are in spiritual idealism when put to the test. Even in a complex social arrangement the primary socialising feelings of sympathy, justice and fair play between man and man achieve wonders and construct efficient social arrangements.

Brotherhood actually works. What we need to do is to socialise the idea that it does, and, by a process of propaganda and education, persuade a majority of mankind. Experimentation with practical Brotherhood should go on in industry everywhere until men shall know the truth. "The truth shall make you free."

CHRISTIANITY released new spiritual forces in the world, new conceptions of the worth and the duty of individuals and the germ of new conceptions of organised life. Christianity centres in Jesus Christ, His Person and spirit, and the ethical ideals which He lifted up as those destined to govern humanity. The epitome of His teaching is found in the Sermon on the Mount. The theme of that sermon is presented in what are called the Beatitudes, in a series of pictorial thoughts, capable of being visualised. *These Beatitudes set forth the quality of life required for membership in the Kingdom of God or in that order of things over which God reigns in Fatherly satisfaction.* They are the ideals of righteousness or true Brotherhood, and have been quietly but insistently making their way into the accepted thinking of the best men since the days of Jesus.

The Sermon on the Mount, or for that matter the ideals of life in the New Testament as a whole, have been the foment or leaven which has been making for democracy in all the affairs of mankind.

Every movement for the elevation of the common life, or for the emancipation of the individual and his release from tyranny, into a higher freedom and quality of life has been inspired by the ideal of the Kingdom or family of God as taught by Jesus.

Men have learned to pray the Lord's Prayer which may be paraphrased as follows: "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, make earth like Heaven," and it has been a compelling spiritual force. *Realised*

in the individual, the Kingdom Ideal gives us the Christian Gentleman—realised in political institutions, it gives us a Christian Democracy, or the Gentle State.

The conception of gentleman has been misconstrued and misapplied at times, but when properly conceived it presents the highest standard of kindly, personal, brotherly life. Honour, integrity, magnanimity, truth and charity are characteristics of the gentleman. Gracious and gentle in the use of influence and in the discharge of all authority, and in the meeting of other persons, the gentleman is a master of his own strength and a true benefactor of others.

There is one word which will describe the qualities of a gentleman as we now conceive him—the word *urbanity*. The man who possesses urbanity is fit to be with men, recognised and received into the company of the noble in heart. From its etymology urbanity refers to one who is a city-dweller—one who is accustomed to the best manners in human intercourse, and who has the qualities entitling him to mingle freely and unrestrainedly with the best of his kind.

The synonymous word *polite* also refers in its etymology to *polis*, or city, and indicates that politeness is a quality of character of those dwelling in the best human society. *Civil* is a synonym from civil, or a City State, and has a similar meaning, for a civil man is one who is fit to be a citizen of a noble State. *Courteous* means after the manner of the court. But *urbanity* includes all these meanings. The essence of urbanity is the essence of polite, civil, courteous, and any other qualities required of one whose life is in frequent relation to others. It is the word which describes the gentleman. Not a hermit, not a recluse, never morose, never ungracious ; but radiant in personality, spiritually contagious, an influence for righteousness, a friend and a brother.

The inevitable and frequent intercourse of nations has compelled us to give attention to the quality of life and character of the State or nation. The rise of democracy has changed the popular conception of the place and function of the State in human progress, and the advent of international trade and relations has necessitated an abandonment of the rôle of hermit nations. In relation to its own citizens, and especially in relation to other nations, the ideals of Brotherhood require that a nation be truly a Gentle State.

First, the Gentle State will exist for all its citizens and dependents with reciprocity of rights and duties as its chief rule. Second, the Gentle State may be powerful, but it is too great to use its power unjustly. It will "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God." It treats its enemies, if it has any, as those who are to become its friends. It is too generous to bear malice and is a champion of the weak and unbefriended peoples. It will "take up the white man's burden." It respects the rights of other States, and with honour and integrity is true to its treaty obligations. It exercises good-will without weakness, and has faith in international co-operation. It forgoes isolation to fraternise toward a co-operative commonwealth of the world.

The supreme law of the Gentle State will be the love of Christ. By law in this sense we mean spirit and principles, from which all the specific rules of action take their inspiration, and which are in turn revised and reconstructed with this spirit and these principles as norm. The supreme law of Great Britain, for example, is fundamental democracy, and is expressed and asserted in Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. The supreme law of the United States likewise expresses democracy and Brotherhood, and is found in the Preamble to the Constitution, "We,

the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, promote the general welfare, provide for the common defence, ensure domestic tranquillity and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution."

With the growth of democracy the functions of the State and the attitude of the people toward their Government have undergone great change. Cromwell and his age sought to curb the powers and activities of government because government was of, by, and in great measure for, the ruling class, who claimed a divine right of kings, a divine right of the propertied class; a divine right of aristocracy. Now that governments are largely of, by, and for the people, according to Lincoln's fine phrase, there is much less fear of oppression. The activities of governments have been greatly expanded and multiplied in the interest of the common welfare. Democratic governments, whether national or municipal, may be wonderful agencies of practical Brotherhood. Hume said, "All the vast machinery of government is ultimately for no other purpose than the distribution of justice."

It has been shown ¹ that a century ago the English common law was a body of class law. It was the law of the State as against the individual citizen. It was the law of the employer as against the employee. It was the law of the landlord as against the tenant. It was the law of the husband as against the wife, of the man as against the woman. An aristocratic legislature dominated the law of the time. There was a governed and governing class. A judge in 1816 sentenced some hatters to two years' imprisonment

¹ E. P. Cheyney, "The Trend toward Industrial Democracy," in *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 1920.

for striking till their employer, a William Jackson, should pay better wages. The Judge said, "A person who, like Mr. Jackson, has employed from 100 to 230 hands, common gratitude would teach us to look upon as a benefactor of the community." But things have greatly changed. The employer was well able to say, "This is my business; I will carry it on as I see fit . . . hours, wages, prices, materials, labour conditions and marketing conditions, what I pay for labour . . . is my own affair. My business is my inviolable personal property." Now the State has intervened to say that if an accident occurs, the employer has to pay an indemnity; that he must pay a certain amount toward those who are injured or lost in the industry. The employer of labour is now compelled to pay something each week for each one of his employees as insurance against sickness and, in some trades, against unemployment. By the Town Planning Act, any town or local government is at liberty to build dwellings . . . and do such things as serve the purposes of better living for the people." The State is trying to be fair to all and to give every one a chance.

Doubtless vast improvement is possible in the administration of such laws as guard the common welfare, in all countries, but *the ideal and fundamental function of the State is now to make justice a reality for all, and to be a promoter of the welfare of all.*

Among the functions of the State, at its best, is that of protecting and safeguarding the weaker individuals and groups. The ægis of its protection is over all whose strength is not sufficient for the struggle of life. The State is the agency through the authority of which civilisation is maintained as a great community enterprise, an affair of co-operation in rights and duties. It is the State which guarantees

a measure of opportunity for all, and whose business it is to see that social justice is secured.

The Gentle State will be especially concerned about those of its citizens who are unable to care for themselves. Professor Albion Small, in an address entitled, "A Vision of Social Efficiency,"¹ presents the claim of this class in these words: "Those persons who, more through misfortune than through culpable fault, are only slightly or not at all able to contribute to the common enterprise will be enlisted for the most useful employments of which they are capable, and the deficit between their services and a reasonable appraisal of their needs will be a charge upon the insurance reserve." He says further, "Those persons who, more by their own choice than by misfortune, are unfit to contribute to the common enterprise will be held to such disciplinary constraints by the community that they will acquire some social fitness, and that they will at length prefer a tolerable measure of usefulness in the general undertaking to the alternative constraint."

As a matter of fact social policies and programmes in Western civilisation proceed very much in line with this ideal and the State is more gentle—more just—with the erring, and seeks to rehabilitate them in the family of their fellow-men. The defective who are unable to maintain their place unassisted are being cared for as a charge against the social income. A spirit of brotherliness and broad charity supplements and supports the activities of the State, which more and more is coming to be the agency of relief and rehabilitation, expressing society's will.

Last Christmas the *New York Times* and other papers made their annual appeal for the poor under the caption, "The One Hundred Neediest Cases," and published a descriptive account of these cases,

¹ Address before the American Sociological Society, January 1914.

laying them bare before a public, exhorting those more fortunate to be charitable to those who were in such dire distress.

The Christmas spirit requires that these cases be made impossible, and no seasonal, once-a-year spasm of compassion will answer the challenge to genuine Brotherhood. To reconstruct these homes and families and care for these individuals is the clear duty of the general public—the Gentle State.

The Gentle State will be especially gentle toward the personalities of the future. The working of children for gain and the inadequate protection of the women workers present a special problem. Child labour means dwarfed physical development, but it means much more in that the future efficiency and usefulness of the child is impaired. Those who enter industry in childhood find themselves unfit for paying jobs in manhood. "The child labourer is the father of the man without a job or with only a poorly-paid job." Little or no education, scant moral training, unnecessary temptations, are their lot in life.

The Children's Bureau of the Federal Government in the United States is a move in the direction of the State assuming its proper responsibility, and the whole matter is being studied, and through enlightened public opinion remedial legislation is being enacted.

The Gentle State helps to supply a stimulating environment to its normal citizens as one of its primary duties, but equally important is the problem of aiding nature to eliminate the clearly abnormal part of humanity by segregation or the milder forms of preventive eugenics. The State will fight against venereal diseases, all forms of intemperance, unnecessary and preventable accidents, sickness and preventable deaths, against exploitative industries, or any form of social evil which depresses or destroys the health and well-being of its people. It is within the

power of mankind to rid himself of practically every known disease.

When the municipality or the State becomes more an agency of Brotherhood the slum will be a thing of the past, and a constructive programme of decent housing and public health will be effectively promoted. Every enterprise that affects directly the health and welfare of the people will be controlled or operated by the State.

It is a function of the State to prevent unemployment or to care for the unemployed. Just as the assigning of tasks and the development of self-respect and capacity of the children is a concern of the family, so the quality of citizenship developed in some useful and regular employment is a concern of the State. Unavoidable unemployment, when the State fails to function to provide continuous employment, must not be allowed to dwarf or destroy the self-respect and personality of the citizen. Unemployment usually, and most certainly if long continued, means physical distress, mental anguish, harassing fears, blighted hopes and crushed ambitions for the life of the worker himself and those dependent on him. The State will provide some sort of insurance against this, and will also guarantee a national minimum of decency and self-respect for all.

The belief which has sometimes been quite widespread and encouraged by wrong-headed men, that in our free governments the children of all do not have equal opportunity for complete education, must be dispelled by facts. The duty of a democratic civilisation is to ensure, on the part of a prosperous society, absolute equality of education to the children of all groups and classes. The accident of birth in the future free society must not give to the scion of wealth a superior right to an education over the humblest, if the humble man's child possesses capacity.

Thus Brotherhood becomes more than a means of mitigating through charity the unevenness of life, but is a primary, constructive principle of the corporate life of the commonwealth. The greatest undeveloped resources of any nation or civilisation are the powers and native endowments of the children of the common people. These potential assets of the national life require only social opportunity, or education to bring them forth. We have had immigrant people of the peasant classes coming to the United States whose children of the first generation have become leaders in public life, the teaching profession, industrial management and many other spheres of influence.

A strange blight seems to come over the moral nature of some men when they have inherited or achieved a position of privilege and advantage over their fellow-men. They begin to talk and sometimes to act as though they regard the mass of mankind as made of different stuff and essentially as of another order of beings from themselves.

This often happens in the case of men who have risen from the ranks, either through fortune in the turn their affairs have taken, or through an unusual inheritance of energy properly combined with social opportunity.

The compassion and kindness of such men are often dried up, and a harsh unbrotherly attitude is likely to develop. But the State should know no final and fixed classes and conditions, and the social opportunity it affords must be given with absolute impartiality.

Sentiment in all civilised countries is supporting programmes and measures which are designed to promote the welfare of the common people, and, without impinging upon individual liberties that really count, or hindering individual initiative, the

State is seeking to prevent injustice and is protecting and safeguarding all its citizens.

Domestic policies in the forward nations have more of the spirit of Brotherhood and co-operation. The State is coming to be a co-partnership of rights and duties, opportunities and enjoyments.

The conception of the State toward which democratic Governments are now tending is almost the opposite of that of a century ago. It was commonly held that the ideals of morality which bind the individual are in no way binding on the State. The individual was not supposed to bluster and blatantly assert his rights, but a State was freed from the obligation to be truthful in its diplomacy, honourable in its alliances and treaties, and upright in its purposes. The State might act the bully upon occasion, with little likelihood of even the "best minds" disapproving.

The victory for Christian idealism in the relation of a State to its neighbours is not yet won. The editorial and title-page of the *Chicago Tribune* boastfully makes the claim under its title of being "The World's Greatest Newspaper." Looking along a little, one's eye rests upon the quotation from Stephen Decatur on this title-page, which has been standing for years, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." One wonders if it is a coincidence that the particular date of the paper at which I am looking contains at the head of the first column an appeal, "Rescue the Wounded," with a letter the first paragraph of which reads as follows: "Sunday's *Tribune*, containing Col. Abel Davis' terrible indictment of governmental neglect of soldiers whose minds and bodies were blasted by the war, will have reached you to-day."

Strange, isn't it, that the paper which blazons the

sentiment, "Our country, right or wrong," has to record the indictment of the country's Government for neglect of its dependent ex-soldiers?

The ideal that Governments must be as ready to do justice as to demand rights must become a part of our conception of the duties of the State. Christianity aims to take possession of the entire world and make it the Kingdom of Christ. *The Christian spirit will, therefore, need to be made to dominate in the State in its foreign relations and furnish standards of honour, truthfulness, integrity, and even sacrifice which has been so laboriously built up as the ideal of the individual life of the gentleman. The time for the truly Gentle State has come.*

The more powerful a State, the more reason why its relationship with other States should be frankly governed by respect for and consideration of the rights of those other States. The same kindliness of approach, the same consideration, the same deference, the same urbanity of life which Brotherhood calls for from the individual, must be expected of the State.

Any League of Nations and scheme of world peace waits upon the demonstration of such an attitude on the part of the more powerful nations of the world. Justice and fair play toward all dependencies, earnest effort to improve the lot of the backward races within its domain, and the manifestation of a spirit of fair play in international agreements of whatever sort, will help create a world conscience which will expect a nation to act always as a Gentle State should.

Can the principle of Brotherhood be trusted in disarmament agreements between nations? Will countries keep their pledged word? Are treaties more than scraps of paper? Can Machiavellian notions of diplomacy be overthrown and abandoned? Can Christianity and the Golden Rule really be applied to Governments? Is war the only way to

settle international disputes with honour? Are we shut up for ever to the militaristic view of the State?

It is a great faith to be able to say that the universe has meaning and that the meaning is good—that righteousness expressed in action is a test of a nation's as well as an individual's approval in the light of ultimate reality, that "righteousness exalteth a nation, and that sin is the reproach of any people."

Speculation on what might have been is easy but ordinarily fruitless, but it is clear that had Germany pursued a policy of peaceful penetration and genuine service, all the influence and prestige she sought by military aggression would have been hers, *without diminishing the prosperity and well-being of any of the peoples who were compelled to compass the downfall of her military power.*

The conception of international relations which the spirit of Brotherhood calls for will find a way to give every nation full opportunity to make its contribution to the welfare of humanity. The principle, "let him that would be greatest among you be servant of all," will apply as between States, as well as between individuals.

Once again—the time for the Gentle State, for the Brotherhood of nations, is here.

WE are in an age of what may be called *constructive discontent*. Perhaps never has there been such a chorus of voices advocating the need of fuller understanding of our associated life, and co-operative efforts to build more adequate institutions and social arrangements.

There is no unanimity of opinion concerning just what needs to be done, and the programmes which should be adopted. Many express grave fears for the future, and, like pessimists in all ages, see only the menacing aspects of the present situation. These are not sure that idealism will survive in the modern world.

Their challenging pessimism is voiced in such books as Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race*, and Lathrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Colour*. These books seem to despair of civilisation unless certain races and groups remain in the ascendancy. They come very near to advocating the abandonment of all programmes of altruism and philanthropy as these programmes improve the condition of the darker races of mankind. They have scant respect for the missionary movement which is teaching sanitation, scientific farming, hygiene and wholesome living to the backward, unspecialised peoples of the earth.

On the other hand, there are those who are too optimistic in the face of all the facts. There is no evidence to warrant the belief that progress will be

continuous, automatic and inevitable. Change will unquestionably take place, but progress is not so certain. Says John Morley: "To think of progress as a certainty is superstitious—the most splendid and amiable of all superstitions, if you like, yet a superstition still. It is a kind of fatalism—radiant, confident, and infinitely hopeful, yet fatalism still, and, like fatalism in all its forms, inevitably dangerous to the effective sense of individual responsibility."¹

Progress is possible, but is not inevitable; it will probably take place, for it seems as though a sufficient number of mankind's leaders and teachers are alert to the dangers and the imperfections in the best civilisation yet devised, and that the human mind will be able to hold in perspective the lessons of past experience, and invent social organisations adapted to survival, and adequate to carry the load of expanding civilisation.

Social scientists and teachers are now adopting somewhat the method of the prophet with his presentation of alternatives. The prophet presented his picture of the future, not as something inevitable, but as contingent. A certain course would lead to prosperity and well-being; the opposite course would lead to discomfiture and destruction.

Science, in dealing with social facts and tendencies, cannot predict with the assurance and certainty found in the physical sciences. Not knowing what moral or intellectual factor may be introduced, and having too little experience to be able to grasp and understand all the elements involved, the social scientist is cautious about precise and detailed prediction, but is able to point out tendencies and to give a measure of forecast. It is a great achievement to be able to isolate and state some of the social problems to which attention must be given, and the

¹ "Some Thoughts on Progress," *Educational Review*, xxix, pp. 7-8.

social engineer or leader is seeking as best he may to devise a technology to meet the needs and conditions arising.

The Problem before civilisation is to provide sufficient social control in the form of moral idealism and scientific prevision to eliminate economic waste and anti-social conduct, and to provide adequate motives and adequate forms of association.

There are many outcroppings of autocracy, many remaining forms of exploitation. There are many inefficiencies and failures to co-ordinate effort, and to utilise to the full our powers and resources in industry.

There are many Machiavellian politicians who menace the peace of the world, and many hit-or-miss methods of handling the big enterprises of civilisation. But, when all is said that is unfavourable, there yet remains that settled moral purpose of multitudes to reconstruct what is faulty. While care-free optimism may be an impossible position, gloomy pessimism is equally unreasonable. Meliorism is the faith—the practical attitude, of men of intelligence and good-will. We can, and therefore, please God, we will build a better civilisation.

Nature and environment are dynamic and are not fixed. Human nature is complex, but is capable of modification. Institutions, while yielding slowly to man's effort, may be changed to advantage. The increased control of both human nature and institutions is obviously possible.

Prophets of a better order are challenging us to renewed endeavour. Benjamin Kidd's *Science of Power*, Lester F. Ward's *Pure Sociology* and *Applied Sociology*, Walter Rauschenbush's *Christianising the Social Order*, and many similar books of cheer, are disciplining our thinking and summoning us to a share in the task of creating the Enlightened Age.

The Brotherhood Movement, in order to make its fullest possible influence felt, should adopt a definite programme of activities. Part of its programme could be established and would need only slight modification from time to time. Other parts of the programme might be considered frankly as in the nature of experiment, and would undergo considerable change to meet more definitely recognised needs or improved understanding of situations.

The first more or less fixed item on this programme would of course be the carrying on of the Brotherhood organisation work and propaganda of the idea. The work of organising local groups of men to be centres of influence and agencies for co-ordinating good-will should be pushed into every considerable community in Christian countries, and into other parts of the world as fast as resources of men and money permit.

Brotherhood Federations should be formed in many countries, and these in turn should be federated in the world Brotherhood Movement. Irrespective of the particular type of local organisation or the activities of a Brotherhood in different countries, the spirit and fundamental purpose of all is so nearly the same that World Federation is not only possible but will in itself be an influence toward international understanding and co-operation.

The World Brotherhood Executive might well consider, as another part of its programme, the advisability of co-operating with other agencies of human welfare in the establishing of a Department of Research and Information. Study classes in the various local Brotherhoods could use the facts and findings of this department in the formation of public opinion in keeping with the ethical ideals of Christianity.

This Research and Information Service would wonderfully help men everywhere to come to just

judgments concerning social and economic conditions, and would provide stimulating incentive to help bring about needed changes.

In America the Federal Council of Churches has such a Research and Information Service, and several agencies in Britain are working along the same line. Such service could be co-ordinated and an exchange between different countries effected, so that the men of the Brotherhoods could have accurate knowledge of issues and movements in the different countries. This would help in the formation of an international mind as well as a higher type of social conscience for the separate countries. Nothing is more needed in some countries than a truthful publicity service and propaganda based on facts.

Whenever racial or class conflicts exist, or are threatened, over considerable areas, a Commission of the Brotherhood should be created to help in the formation of public opinion or to lead in mass movements to abolish freak prejudices and unbrotherly conduct, or to mitigate long-standing antagonisms. In America especially do we need some group composed of representatives of the white and negro races, to study the whole question of racial antagonisms, and to be ready, when any outbreak of hostilities is threatened, to absorb into itself as far as possible the menacing ill-will, and do its utmost to preserve an atmosphere in the community in which justice and fair play may operate.

If the Brotherhood Movement is to have its greatest influence in the world or in any country it should have, as part of its programme, the finding and educating of the choice and promising young men in the communities where Brotherhoods are at work.

It is clear that if social amendment and constitutional changes are to take place by orderly processes, it will be under the guidance of well-disposed, trained

leaders. What better investment could a local Brotherhood make than to provide the means to educate a young man of good gifts, and thus release into the world an accession of spiritual capacity and leadership? In time teachers and professors of Christian ethics—the ethics of Brotherhood—could be placed in schools, colleges and universities, and the moral intelligence of students thus be turned to the tasks of local, national and international Brotherhood. In addition to the John Clifford Lectureship, which is in line with this method of disseminating the Brotherhood spirit, a Chair of Brotherhood in at least one university in several countries, to study civilisation in its various aspects and interpret Christian Brotherhood to the coming leaders of civilisation, would doubtless add to the strength and service of our Movement.

As a final suggestion, the Brotherhoods, by every means available, should seek co-operation with the churches that the spirit of Brotherhood may be maintained and strengthened in the institutions of religion. A great service may be rendered the churches, and through them to communities, by men of good-will and moral purpose furnishing leadership and support to the churches.

Whatever faults the churches may have had or may still have, their hold upon the loyalty and affection of the people is deep-seated, and the programme of the churches earnestly carried out by men of strength and devoted spirit will actually change the world. The Brotherhoods may assist in bringing a new era for Christianity and greatly accelerate the coming of a just and righteous social order by co-operating with the churches and together turning again to Him of whom His disciples said, "To whom else shall we go? Thou hast the words of this life."

Location of plant—Boston, Mass.

Character of plant—Retail Specialty Store.

Number of employees—2,700 to 3,000.

I. HISTORY

A. The plan had its inception in 1898 with the establishment of an insurance plan and medical clinic.

B. Gradually new activities were added and committees were formed to carry them on.

1. Lectures (later name changed to Education), 1899 ; Library, 1899 ; Health, 1899 ; Suggestions, 1899 ; Entertainments, 1900 ; Club-house, 1901 ; Publicity, 1902 ; Athletics, 1905 ; Music, 1906 ; Co-operative supply, 1912.

C. Space for club-rooms provided in the store by the management since 1901.

D. Office of Welfare Manager created in 1901 by the management.

1. This office gradually developed into the Executive Secretaryship of the F.C.A.

2. The executive staff is now enlarged to include an Assistant Executive Secretary, who also acts as men's counsellor and managing editor of the *Echo* ; an Assistant who serves as girls' and women's counsellor ; and an office staff.

E. Arbitration Board founded 1901.

F. *Echo*, the store paper, founded in 1902.

1. Originally started as a house organ by the Management.

(a) This arrangement did not prove popular with the employees.

2. Management withdrew and turned the paper over entirely to the employees.

(a) Members of the Management do not see copies of any issue until it is printed and distributed to all.

(b) Copies are sold and paid advertisements of the store are carried in order to make the paper self-supporting.

G. F.C.A. Council created as a legislative body in 1905.

H. Recreational activities increased and clubs formed.

1. Girls' Club, 1907 ; Men's Club, 1910 ; Women's Club, 1912.

I. Filene Co-operative Association Benefit Society, which administers the new insurance plan, founded 1920.

J. F. C. A. Wharter approved by management, council and employees on referendum vote, 1921.

II. ORGANISATION

A. Every employee of the company, including the highest paid officers, is by virtue of employment a member on equal terms of the Filene Co-operative Association.

1. A self-governing body operating under a charter, constitution and by-laws.

2. Officers : president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer.

(a) Elected by popular vote.

(b) Term of office—one year.

3. The executive secretary is the administrative head and through the various groups and committees directs the work of the F.C.A.

(a) Appointed by the president of the F.C.A.

(b) Appointment must be confirmed by a five-sixths vote of the F.C.A. Council.

(c) Appointment made annually and the same secretary may be continued or a new one selected.

(d) Salary paid by the company, but the secretary is entirely responsible to the F.C.A.

B. The F.C.A. Council.

1. Composed of twenty-three members.
 - (a) Twelve elected representatives, one from each of the twelve sections of the store.
 - (b) The president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer of the F.C.A.
 - (c) The four employee members of the Board of Directors of the store.
 - (d) The presidents of the Men's Club, the Women's Club and the Girls' Club.
2. Term of office—one year.
3. All employees entitled to vote for the elected members.
4. Any employee eligible for election.
5. Meets weekly unless called oftener to consider special business.

C. Arbitration Board.

1. Composed of twelve elected members, one from each section of the store and a chairman appointed by the president of the F.C.A. from the membership of the Council.
2. Term of office—one year.
3. All employees entitled to vote.
4. Any employee eligible for election who has been in the employ of the company for at least two years.
5. The management as such has no representation on the Board.
6. Appeal may be taken by any employee at any time.

D. Employee members of the Board of Directors.

1. Total membership of the Board of Directors is eleven; of this number four are employees.
 - (a) The F.C.A. Council nominates by ballot six candidates for positions on the Board of Directors.
 - (b) The stockholders elect four of these six nominees to serve on the Board.
 - (c) Term of office—one year.
 - (d) Any employee is eligible for service on the Board who has been in the employ of the company for at least five years.

III. POWERS AND DUTIES

A. The Filene Co-operative Association.

1. May initiate new store rules, or modifications or cancellations of existing store rules concerning store discipline, working conditions or relations, or any other matters, except policies of the business; by a two-thirds vote of the entire membership.
2. Such vote shall have full effect within forty-eight hours, unless vetoed either by the president of the company, the general manager, or any member of the management.
 - (a) Any vetoed measure may be submitted to a referendum vote, if a petition requesting such action, signed by 4 per cent. of the membership, is presented to the executive secretary.
 - (b) Any measure may be passed over any veto by a ballot vote of not less than two-thirds of the entire membership of the F.C.A. provided that
 - (1) Such vote has been preceded by one or more mass meetings at which the question at issue has been discussed.
 - (2) Final vote is taken within ten days subsequent to the veto.

B. The F.C.A. Council.

1. Directly responsible to the members of the F.C.A.
2. New store rules, changes in or cancellations of existing regulations may also be initiated by the Council, acting for the whole F.C.A.
 - (a) Any measure passed by a five-sixths vote of the Council goes into effect within a week, unless
 - (1) Four per cent. of the F.C.A. membership petitions for a referendum.

(2) Vetoed by the President, general manager or any member of the management.

(a) Such veto may be overruled as above (III, A, 2, b.)

C. The Arbitration Board.

1. All cases may be submitted to arbitration in which any member of the F.C.A. has reason to question the justice of a decision by or action of
 - (a) Anyone in a higher position.
 - (b) The corporation.
 - (c) An F.C.A. Committee.
 - (d) An individual employee.
2. Specific cases coming under jurisdiction of the Board.
 - (a) Dismissals.
 - (b) Wage reductions.
 - (c) Transfers and location in the store.
 - (d) Requests for promotion or increase in wages.
 - (e) Missing sales, shortages, lost packages, breakages, torn or lost garments.
 - (f) Differences between employees.
 - (g) Vacation wages.
 - (h) Payment of insurance.
 - (i) Judgment of the Suggestions Committee.
3. The decision of the Board is final for all cases arising within its jurisdiction.
 - (a) Majority vote of the entire Board constitutes a final decision.
 - (b) Decisions favourable to the employees in cases of dismissal constitute an order on the store manager for reinstatement.
 - (c) In case of wage reductions a decision in favour of the employee is an order for a refund.
4. This Board may have jurisdiction over controversies between executives and the executive authority of the corporation in respect to their employment, or

(a) Such matters may be arbitrated by a Special Arbitration Committee, one member chosen by the executive, one by the corporation and a third by these two.

(1) A majority decision has full effect.

5. When a case is heard before the Arbitration Board the Executive Secretary acts as counsel for the employee and a representative of the Personnel Department serves as counsel for the management.

D. Employee members of the Board of Directors.

1. Have the same powers and duties as any other members of the Board and have an equal voice in the affairs of management.

IV. ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONISM

A. Company state that they have no objection to their employees organising.

1. The retail clerks, clerical workers, etc., are not organised.

2. The teamsters, chauffeurs, printers, engineers, carpenters, and some employees in the factory are organised.

(a) The Company maintains working agreements with the unions represented above.

Location of plant—Wappingers Falls, New York.

Character of plant—Bleachery (Textile)..

Number of employees—Approximately 600.

I. HISTORY

A. Board of Operatives created in August 1918.

1. As first constituted had only advisory power over mill management, wages, working conditions, etc.

B. Board of Management created July 1919.

2. Scope of work broadened rapidly.

II. ORGANISATION

A. Board of Operatives.

1. Composed of eleven members elected by secret ballot by and from the operatives in the eleven different departments.

2. Terms of office—one year.

3. All employees entitled to vote who have been in the employ of the company for at least one month prior to the election.

4. Any employee eligible for election who has been in the employ of the company for one year, and who is

(a) Twenty-one years of age or over.

(b) An American citizen, or who has taken out first papers.

5. Officers : president, vice-president and executive secretary.

(a) President and vice-president elected annually by ballot at special meeting of the Board.

(b) Executive secretary appointed by the Board of Management and confirmed by the Board of Operatives.

(1) Gives full time to the work and receives salary from the company.

(2) Serves in executive capacity for the Board of Operatives.

(3) Has no vote on the Board.

(4) Is an ex-officio member of all Standing and Special Committees.

6. Meets the first Friday of each month.

B. Board of Management.

1. Composed of six members.

(a) Three elected by the Board of Operatives from their own number.

(b) Three representatives of the management—the treasurer, the New York agent, and the local manager.

2. Term of office—one year.

3. Meets monthly and upon the call of any two of its members.

C. Board of Directors.

1. Composed of five members elected annually by the stockholders.

(a) Three selected from the management.

(b) One from the employees, nominated by the Board of Operatives.

(c) One from the community.

III. POWERS AND DUTIES

A. Board of Operatives.

1. Adjustment of grievances.

(a) May carry any grievance for an employee, a group of employees or an ex-employee to the local management.

(b) If they are unable to come to an agreement satisfactory to both the management and employee, the matter may be referred to the Board of Management.

2. Appoints the following committees :
 - (a) Working conditions.
 - (b) Housing.
 - (c) Recreation and education.
3. Has full power to manage the houses owned by the company.
 - (a) Through its Housing Committee it sets the rents, decides upon repairs, receives and adjusts complaints of tenants.
 - (b) Arranges for sale of company houses to employees on terms worked out by the Board of Operatives and the Board of Management.
4. Has authority to initiate, project and manage any educational or recreational work which seems to be beneficial and desirable among the employees or in the community, which does not conflict with the powers of the Board of Management.

B. Board of Management.

1. Authorised to adjust and settle such matters of mill management as may arise.
2. Any matter may be appealed to this Board after going through the preliminary channels indicated above.
3. In case a majority of the Board fails to agree upon any matter brought before it for determination the Board shall appoint a seventh member and the decision of the majority of the Board so constituted shall be final.

C. Board of Directors.

1. Has final control of the Company and its business policies, except as delegated to the Board of Operatives and the Board of Management.

IV. ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONISM

"The Board of Directors authorises the statement that our Partnership Plan is in no way opposed to Organised Labour."

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